

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, L.H.D., Editor.

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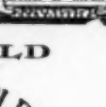
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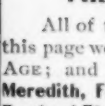
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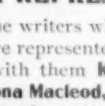
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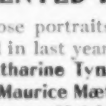
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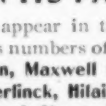
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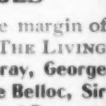
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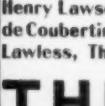
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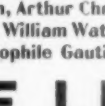
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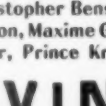
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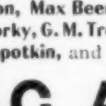
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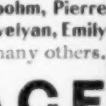
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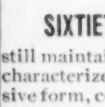
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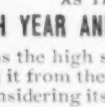
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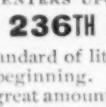
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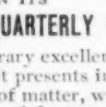
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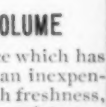
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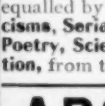
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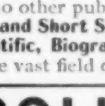
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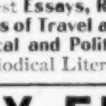
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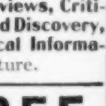
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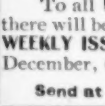
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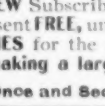
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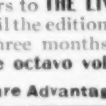
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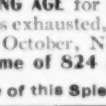
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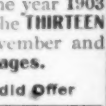
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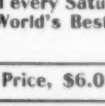
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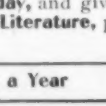
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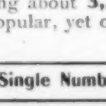
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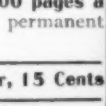
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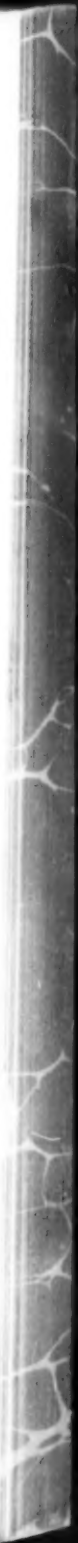
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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1903.

ART. I.—BISHOP NINDE : AN APPRECIATION.*

It is not easy to say what Bishop Ninde was to those who did not know him; it is quite as difficult to say this to those who knew him, in a way that they would feel satisfying. To be sure, the outstanding recollection of the man is that of Coleridge's

Good great man! Three treasures—love and light
And calm thoughts, equable as infant's breath.

But love and light and peace are just the elements of character least susceptible of verbal exposition. They represent an atmosphere rather than any ponderable or identifiable entity; one must live in them, and, as it were, feel the play of them, to realize their power and beauty when embodied in a plenary nature and lovable personality.

To take first things first, Bishop Ninde had a notable and gracious presence. His choice of the "clerical" garb was the outcome of a simple and perfect taste in dress; nor, perhaps, was it without consideration of its special appropriateness to his particular face and figure, and of its use as auxiliary to his special work. The erect and stately form with its

* William Xavier Ninde was born in Cortland, N. Y., June 21, 1832; prepared at the public schools of Lowville, N. Y., and Rome, N. Y.; was graduated from Wesleyan University 1855; entered Black River Conference 1856; stationed at Second Church-Fulton (1856), at Adams (1857-58), and at Rome (1859-60); transferred to Cincinnati Conference and stationed at Trinity (1861-62), Morris Chapel (1863-66), and Union Chapel (1866-67), all in Cincinnati; traveling in Europe 1868; stationed at Christie Chapel 1869; transferred to Detroit Conference and stationed at Central Church, Detroit, 1870-73; appointed to professorship in Garrett Biblical Institute 1873-76; reappointed to Central Church, Detroit, 1876-79; elected president of Garrett Biblical Institute 1879-84; elected to episcopacy 1884; died January 3, 1901. See the noble Memoir by his daughter, recently published by the Methodist Book Concern.

deliberate and dignified habit of movement, the gentle and benign face with eyes blue as a summer sky, and the strongly modeled head crowned with abundant hair, fair and fine, were all enhanced by the modest framework of black, and made him look just what he was—"every inch a bishop." To this was added an exceptional graciousness of manner, the winsome urbanity of the high-minded man who is conscious only of an affectionate good will toward all men and eager that they should know it and believe it. Every accent of his greeting rang true; and it was the same to all classes. Because he had the princeliest of natures he was the most democratic of men. This combination of dignity and graciousness was of the very texture of his being; it was with him no acquisition of the schools. And so he could perform the lowliest service without abating a whit of his dignity, and he could invest the simplest courtesy with a charm which lifted it to distinction.

Bishop Ninde had the good fortune to be born well. He was a veritable son of the manse, being himself a preacher of the fourth generation. His great-grandfather, James Nind, was a Gloucestershire yeoman of substance and culture, the friend of Wesley and a local preacher; the grandfather, William Nind, was a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland, greatly useful and beloved; his father, William Ward Ninde, though dead at thirty-five, was one of the most eloquent evangelists and one of the most cherished pastors of his generation. Quite as significant was the lineage on the maternal side. His grandmother Cole was a daughter of John Cole, founder of Methodism in western New York, whose daily prayer for years was, "May the God of all grace convert and sanctify to the latest generation all my posterity;" and granddaughter of Joseph Cole, whose intimacy with Wesley is commemorated in a print representing the two (with another friend) walking arm in arm apparently in earnest conversation. The mother of Bishop Ninde, Mary Moore, was the daughter of a Methodist home, distinguished alike for probity, piety, and generous hospitality. There is

a hint of daring humor in William Ward Ninde's taking for a text on the morning of his espousing the young woman, "For Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her." The temper of our times is to put emphasis upon environment and education; but one's ancestry is also a potent factor in life. A man into whom has gone three generations of clean living and high thinking has an enviable start; it is quite as likely that such a man will modify his environment as that his environment will make him.

The atmosphere of his home and the character of his early training were also congenial discipline for one whose work was to be that of religious leadership. Naturally, among his earliest text-books was the Bible, the beauties of which were opened to him by his father, who seems to have had a special gift of vivid exposition and vital interpretation. The relishing study of the book in these early years he maintained to the end, and to his familiarity with it is due not a little of the simple beauty and vigor of his literary style. Later in life, when he was a lad of about seventeen, he was the subject of a definite and memorable religious experience. Those who remember Bishop Ninde only in the ripeness of his gracious and saintly manhood would hardly credit him with a period of life when "his religious convictions had become seriously undermined and he had swung far away from the simple faith of his childhood." Nevertheless, the experience was real, and necessary. He was to be the herald of personal experience; he must have the experience as the heart of his message. It came about this way: A series of sermons on Christian evidences by the pastor at Lowville arrested the lad's attention. He faced the problems thus presented in manly, straightforward fashion; with characteristic fidelity he fought his way to the full and firm belief in the Bible as a trustworthy revelation from God; and, later, to the determination to embrace Christ as a personal Saviour to be confessed before men. A struggle was involved in deciding for the ministry; an even greater struggle in making open con-

fession of his conversion. By dint of earnest prayer he found courage to attend the week-night prayer meeting. Less than a dozen were present, but all true saints. The hour passed. To his dismay, the anxious lad saw the pastor rise to close the service. With a supreme effort he struggled to his feet and said, weak of voice but stout of heart, "I want to be a Christian, and I ask you to pray for me." The first step taken, the next was easier. The boy joined the church at once, and honored his commission in true apostolical fashion by bringing first his own brother Henry to the Master.

The very hardships of his youth contributed to a discipline which aided his ministry. Bishop Ninde had to work his way through school. During the time spent in the schools of Lowville and Rome he learned the printer's trade, and passed in rapid and sure progress from the case to the editor's chair. In the university he tutored and preached. The discipline was severe but fruitful. It gave him an intelligent appreciation of the workingman's lot and a ready sympathy for hard conditions of life. "The poor in my churches," he was wont to say, "could never complain that I neglected them; if any were slighted it was the rich, for I felt they could more easily spare me." This anecdote is characteristic: Seeing an aged colored woman struggling with an overloaded pushcart, he stepped to her side and said with gentle courtesy, "Auntie, that is heavy for you; let me wheel it." Out of the experience of hardship in his youth came the enthusiasm for pastoral work, for the work of city missions, and for all phases of the problems of labor.

A further experience which added greatly to his pastoral efficiency was the beauty and felicity of his domestic life. In the home of his father and mother, and later in that of his grandfather and grandmother Moore, he had known all his boyhood long only the ministries of loving, loyal, and mutually adoring family affection. In his own home, marrying as he did the love of his youth, and being himself the chivalric lover to the end, there was, with the advent of the chil-

dren, a center of happiness which to him seemed the sum of all blessings. Such happiness it was his eager concern to promote among all the families of his parish. He knew that the secret lay in the law of Christ being accepted as the rule of the household; and that that law should prevail he sought everywhere, by public instruction and by the most painstaking pastoral supervision, to show its worth and power. Many a family owes to his ministry a new and better order of home life; and hundreds of young people can trace to his instruction and personal influence the view of married life which lies at the very foundation of all domestic happiness.

From the first Bishop Ninde seems to have commended himself as a preacher. His presence and voice were in themselves a recommendation to public favor. Other gifts, however, were not lacking. He had literary style of exceptional grace and force, he had imagination, insight, sympathy. Had he so decided, there is reason to believe that he might have achieved celebrity as a pulpit orator of the first rank. Witness his address on Sunday Observance at Omaha, and some of his Conference sermons. There are, however, two conditions attaching to oratorical "celebrity" both of which would have been unconquerably distasteful to him; first, the conscious aiming at oratorical effect, which is, in essence, insincerity; and, secondly, the conscious selection of topics which favor oratorical treatment by which a larger selection of topics, more prosaic but even more practical from the pastoral point of view, would have been slighted or ignored. The distinguishing feature of all Bishop Ninde's ministry—not simply of his preaching, but also of his educational and episcopal work—was its *pastoral* quality. The test of success with him was not personal popularity, but usefulness. He, for himself, might have delighted in a sermon of brilliant parts; he could construct sonorous sentences and round periods with any man; but what of the sheep who look up and would be dazzled but not fed? Just as truly he might have exploited educational theories and made a name for himself in the educational world, but he preferred to shepherd the

young men who came to learn divinity, and who bore away in their hearts the ineradicable memory of a true shepherd whose example gave all their divinity a new force and new meaning and made it seem worth while. And certainly he might have secured wide distinction had he as bishop availed himself of a tithe of the invitations which came to him for public and distinguishing service. But he was busy with the lives and cares of the preachers for whom he was officially responsible, seeking to know them in their homes and to realize their conditions of work, that he might, if possible, make the burden of their labor lighter for them. The plan of episcopal visitation made it his duty three times to travel abroad. In 1880 he visited the missions of the Church in Europe and India; in 1890 he visited those in Mexico; in 1894 those in China, Japan, and Korea. The spirit in which he undertook these tours is perfectly illustrated in a remark of his own to the members of his family: "We do not wish to go to them in the spirit of mere tourists, but in the fullness of the Gospel blessing." Of Von Weber it is said that in driving through a beautiful country he could only enjoy the beauty by translating it into music. Bishop Ninde knew no enjoyment in anything which could not be transformed into material for the extension of the kingdom of God among men.

Bishop Ninde was in frequent demand for public occasions of various kinds. His addresses were uniformly models of good taste and appropriateness; but never, even in those which might be called the most purely secular or academic, did he fail to infuse into them the spirit and message of his Lord, or leave his audience without a quickening of heart and conscience which gave them, for the time at least, nobler views of life and living. In his simplest and most informal utterance he had, as Mr. Morley says of Burke, "the sacred gift of inspiring men to care for high things and to make their lives at once rich and austere."

Such a man, dominated by such an idea, must necessarily be a favorite with young people. His work with and for the

young people of his Church during the quadrennium in which he was president of the Epworth League was, and is, greatly prized. The profoundly spiritual character of his influence was felt in the impetus given to missionary enterprise throughout the entire Epworthian following. His call, "Let us organize in the Epworth League the greatest missionary propaganda the Church of Christ has ever known," still echoes in the ears of our young people as an inspiration. The high distinction with which he treated young people was perhaps the explanation of his popularity and power with them. It comes out in a singularly beautiful and impressive way in a letter to his son upon the latter's ordination. After expressing his deep gratification at the step taken, and his anxiety that the young man should be a thoroughly consecrated man and minister, he says, "Let us both form strong purposes for the future," etc. The "us" in that sentence is a revelation of character; the "Do you form" which would be natural from the older to the younger, and especially from father to son, is abrogated in the swift recognition of the right of youth to companionship and brotherhood in the work of serving a common cause for a common Master.

It was Bishop Ninde's distinction that, putting aside all personal considerations, he devoted himself to an ideal of usefulness; he consecrated great power to Christian uses and Christian results. United with this devotion was a most engaging and pervasive holiness of character. From sheer love of the goodness of the man one was apt to lose sight of his many-sided greatness; the admirably rounded character of the man was an obstacle to the proper appreciation of him. It is a common observation of visitors to St. Peter's at Rome that the largeness of scale in details is hardly noticed in the perfect proportion of the whole. The more perfect the balance of excelling virtues, the less notice of their individual greatness in a world where eccentricity alone compels attention. But recognizing to the full Bishop Ninde's gifts and acquisitions, his almost matchless pastoral work and his rare administrative gifts, it still remains true that he will be most

tenderly cherished for that which most endeared him to the people, the obvious closeness of his fellowship with God. A friend used to say of Thomas Erskine that he never thought of God but the thought of Mr. Erskine was not far away. In Bishop Ninde's case we might reverently reverse the order: one never thinks of him without thinking of the God he loved and declared. His daughter entering the study one day "found him sitting, with uplifted face and rapt expression, apparently oblivious of her presence. Startled and awed, she paused on the threshold. In a moment the abstracted look left him, and he turned to her with his usual kind smile. To her 'Father, what were you doing just now?' he replied gently, 'I was thinking about God.'" And because God was in his thought continually he was able to live before men in the beauty of holiness, to show them God's power to make and keep a man patient, kindly, cheerful, hopeful, forgiving, just, and true. Bishop Ninde loved men and hungered to be loved by them. But not even for their good opinion would he lower his sense of duty or drive a bargain with sin. The one thing that mattered to him was the approval of God and of a good conscience. In communion with God he nourished that imperial spirit which neither seeks to be great nor fears to be least, which asks no privilege but that of serving God, and which cheerfully relinquishes every claim but that of loving the Hand whose pressure, whether to comfort or chasten, is the ineffable joy and prize of living.

Charles M. Stuart.

ART. II.—THE STORY OF THE TROUBADOURS.

IF you happen to be in Paris and are intending to pursue your travels as far as Italy you will find on looking up the matter that you have the choice of three different routes to take into that famous country. You can go by way of Dijon, Chambéry, and the seven-mile tunnel of Mont Cenis, or by way of Lucerne and the still longer tunnel of the St. Gothard; these two routes will bring you out finally in Milan. Thirdly, you can take the P. L. M., that is, the Paris, Lyons, and Mediterranean Railroad, pass through the whole length of France to Marseilles, and then along the wonderful coast known as the Riviera, to Genoa. If you choose the latter route you will leave Paris on the 9:25 A. M. fast express and arrive after a ride of seven or eight hours at Lyons, situated on the right bank of the Rhone, and next to Paris, the largest city in France. One hundred and fifty kilometers, or about ninety-five miles, after leaving Lyons you pass by the small town of Montélimar, situated, according to Rousseau, "in the finest country and under the finest sky in the world." As you happen to glance at your guidebook you read these words, "At Montélimar we enter Provence." At that magic name your languid interest is revived, and as the train flies along through the landscape, with its crumbling brown hills, its groves of olive and mulberry trees, its white-housed towns and villages, its bridges and ruined castles, the whole lighted up with peculiar beauty by the rays of the setting sun, you gaze with more than ordinary interest on this the land of the Troubadours. And you will do well to gaze thus, for few countries can offer a more genuine interest to the lover of nature, to the student of literature, or to the philosopher who loves to muse on the vicissitudes of history. Note the names of the cities and towns as you hurry along through the darkening landscape: Orange, with its Roman theater and Arch of Trajan, a city famous in the wars against the Goths and Saracens, the home of William Fierabras (who was the hero

of a cycle of romances almost as extensive as that of Charlemagne himself), and the original dwelling place of those princes of Orange who furnished to Holland the great Stadtholder and to England King William, the son-in-law and successor of James II: Avignon, which belonged successively to Burgundians, Franks, Goths, and Saracens; later the scene of the Babylonian captivity of the Roman papacy (in whose power it remained down to the French Revolution), famous and interesting still on account of the tombs of Petrarch's Laura, and of John Stuart Mill, as well as for its papal palace and the ruins of the bridge over the Rhone, which was the highway of the world in the Middle Ages. And so on with many another famous city, until at 10:25 P. M. you reach Marseilles and see the blue waters of the Mediterranean glittering beneath the rays of the moon, which shines with a soft luster unknown to a northern sky.

Nor does this land, so full of laughter and song to-day, with its bullfights and farandole, its thoughtless gayety and love for pleasure, offer a less absorbing interest if we take a flying trip across the centuries. Away back in the dim dawn of history we see the savage tribes of Celts and Gauls making their way over the mountain passes and pouring down into Italy, even to the gates of Rome itself. Then we see the legions of Cæsar performing those marvelous feats of military prowess which finally made the southern part of Gaul a Roman province, whence the present name of Provence. Again the scene changes and we see the vast hordes of northern barbarians pouring down from the north of France over the fertile plains of the south as far as the shores of the Mediterranean, Vandals, Goths, Franks, of whom the two former finally passed on to Spain and Africa, leaving the Franks in final possession, with the Burgundians in the south-east as their vassals. It was the Franks under the command of Charles Martel ("Carl the Hammer"), who at the battle of Poitiers drove back the flood of Saracenic invasion, which, overflowing the walls of the Pyrenees, threatened to make all Europe fall under the sway of Mohammed. Finally, as the

centuries go by we see the land of the Troubadours torn and rent, and finally left bleeding out its lifeblood as a nation, in consequence of that most terrible of all religious wars, the crusade against the Albigensians, when Christian fought against Christian, and father against son. "Never," says Milman, "in the history of man were the great eternal principles of justice, the faith of treaties, and common humanity so trampled on as in the Albigensian War. Never was war waged in which ambition, the consciousness of strength, rapacity, implacable hatred, and pitiless cruelty played a greater part." It was the very legate of the pope himself who at the celebrated siege of Béziers, when he was asked how the soldiers should distinguish between heretics and the faithful, uttered the famous, or rather infamous, cry, "Slay them all; God will know his own." This terrible crusade came to an end in 1229; and in consequence thereof the land of Provence passed into the body politic of northern France and disappeared from history as an independent country. For we must remember that Provence, during the period of which we shall treat in this article, was not merely a province of France, but was in all respects an independent country, far superior to its neighbor in the north in literature, culture, chivalry, and all the arts of peace and war. Its language was different, more like Spanish and Italian than French; the constituent elements of its race were likewise different, containing more of the Roman and Gaul, less of the German.

This, then, is the land in which occurred that interesting literary phenomenon, the rise, development, and fall of the lyrical poetry known under the name of the Troubadours. We must remember, however, that this poetry flourished not only in Provence, in the narrow acceptance of that name, but over all the south of France, especially in the provinces of Toulouse, Dauphiné, Roussillon, and even in Catalonia, beyond the great walls of the Pyrenees Mountains.

The origin of this poetry is obscure. Of course, there must always have been more or less of popular poetry, sung by wandering minstrels—jongleurs, as they were called, a name

still existing in our language under the debased form of "juggler." But this popular poetry was not like that of the Troubadours, which was above all aristocratic, artificial, made to be sung before knights and highborn ladies in the courts of princes and the castles of nobles. About the middle of the eleventh century certain fundamental and wide-reaching changes took place in the life and manners of the nobility of western Europe. Instead of being coarse and rude, the higher classes began gradually to adopt a milder, more refined manner of living. The spirit of chivalry breathed upon the heaving and incongruous mass of mediæval society and shaped it into new forms—forms at once of strength, elegance, and beauty. The newly instituted order of knighthood, the effects of the Crusades in bringing together people of different races and in opening up to the knowledge and minds of Europeans the wonders of the Orient—these were among the more important of the causes which brought about the above-mentioned changes. It was natural, then, that poetry should be influenced by the new and finer spirit which pervaded society. Provence is a noble land, blest with sunny skies and with all the charms of nature. At that time it surpassed the other European provinces in education, in refinement, in the comforts of life, and all the other advantages of unbroken internal peace. This was the home of chivalry; here the vast movement of the Crusades began and found its strongest supporters. You will remember that it was in the city of Clermont, among the volcanic mountains of Auvergne, that in the year 1095 took place that forever memorable council in which Pope Urban II first formally organized the great crusade, when at the close of his wonderful speech describing the shame and disgrace of leaving the sepulcher of Christ in the hands of the infidels the vast crowd, stirred with grief and indignation, broke forth into one loud and simultaneous cry, "It is the will of God!" There in the magnificent castles of the mighty lords was found a blending of unrestrained enjoyment of the pleasures of life, a love for brilliant display, for knightly exercises and war upon the

tented fields. All these things formed an atmosphere which fulfilled admirably the conditions necessary to produce and develop courtly poetry.

Before going further it may be of service to give here a definition of the word "Troubadour." This is often misapplied, especially when used in connection with the term "jongleur," who was usually the traveling companion of the former. Frequently we hear the Troubadour defined as a distinguished poet, while the jongleur is declared to have been his servant. That this distinction is not a correct one is proved by the fact that often we find even the most distinguished Troubadours calling themselves jongleurs. The real distinction between the two is as follows: The jongleurs were all those who gained a living from poetry and music; the Troubadours were all those who occupied themselves in writing courtly poetry, whether they were *bourgeois* or noble, whether they wrote for pay or not. In general, the jongleurs belonged to the old guild of singers and musicians, and in addition to their usual functions they performed all sorts of tricks, danced, turned somersaults, caught apples on the point of knives, imitated the song of birds—in short, played the rôle of the juggler, clown, and minstrel of the present day. Such degrading employments were not followed by the Troubadours, whose chief function was to compose songs and the music thereto, their very name being derived from the word *trobar* (in French *trouver*), to find, or invent. The Troubadours themselves belonged to all ranks of society. Some few were of royal or princely blood, as, for instance, Richard the Lion-hearted and Alphonse, king of Aragon. Some sprang from the ranks of the lower nobility. Others were of the citizen class, while still others were of the lowest origin. Most of these Troubadours knew how to sing and play the harp or violin; but in general they contented themselves with composing their songs, relying for the rendition of the same on the jongleurs who accompanied them in their journeys throughout the country. Followed by his jongleur, then, the Troubadour, often richly dressed, gay, handsome, traveled

over the land, everywhere welcomed in the palaces of kings and princes, and in the castles of the nobility. It was a law of chivalry that no stranger should be denied shelter, especially if he were a warrior or a wandering minstrel. Hospitality was one of the principal virtues of the knightly society of the times, and the extravagance and magnificence in this respect contributed in no little measure to bring on the financial ruin that later engulfed so many a noble lord. In the daily life of the times the hours not devoted to hunting and to knightly exercises were given over to social enjoyment. It was customary to have music and singing during the meals, and when the tables were cleared away the whole company would sit about listening intently while Troubadour or jongleur sang songs of love or told stories of knightly deeds in the days of King Arthur or Charlemagne.

The period comprised by what is known as the poetry of the Troubadours is a short one. Beginning in the last decade of the eleventh century, it was practically over at the end of the thirteenth century. In round numbers, the year 1090 may be taken as the date of the beginning, and the year 1290 as that of the end, of the period; the whole period, then, lasted about two hundred years. The cause of the decline and fall of the poetry of Provence is not hard to find. The rise of the Troubadours was due to the spirit of chivalry, shown in the ideals of the feudal society of the twelfth century. When this spirit degenerated the poetry died out. The influence of chivalry on life and manners ceased to be of any great importance about the middle of the thirteenth century. This state of things was brought about chiefly by the poverty of the nobles, and this poverty itself was the direct result of the enormous expenses entailed by the Crusades, by increased taxation, and by a love for brilliant display, often carried to an extravagant excess. With this poverty a new order of life was forced upon the ruined nobles, an order of life no longer consistent with the patronage of courtly poetry. The Troubadour poetry had had its origin in the brilliant courts of the great—it could not exist without

them. As the years of the thirteenth century wear away we begin to hear words of discontent and complaint on the part of the poets—lamenting the rudeness and selfishness of the nobles, contrasting the present with the golden past. These complaints begin toward the middle of the century, and become more and more bitter toward the end thereof, until finally they too die out, and the songs of the Troubadours proper are heard no more forever.

Like all modern poetry, the meter of the Troubadours depends not on quantity but accent; the foot most frequently used being the Iambic. Contrary to the almost universal custom in French, the Alexandrine, that line of twelve syllables which, to use the words of Pope, "like a wounded snake drags its dull length along," is seldom used. The lines most commonly in use are those of six, eight, or ten syllables. These lines are combined so as to form strophes, or stanzas, whose character is optional with the poet, the number of lines in a strophe running from three to forty-two. So, too, the number of strophes varies in different poems; in the *chanzos*, or love song, and the *sirvente*, or political song, it is usually five or seven. The Troubadours were inventors of the *tornada*, or *envoy*, a personal reference or reflection at the end of the song, with the name (often disguised) of the person to whom the poem was addressed. The system of rhyming is often very complicated, sometimes winding in and out through the whole poem and, together with the numerous conceits employed, adding much to the artificial effect. There were a number of different forms of lyrical poetry: the *vers*, which was an older and simpler form of the *chanzos*; the *planh*, or elegy; the *pastoral*, a dialogue between shepherds; the *alba*, or morning song; and the *serena*, corresponding to the English serenade. The most important, however, were the *chanzos*, or love song; the *sirvente*, or political song; and the *tenson*. The latter, which was peculiar to the Troubadours, was, as may be seen from its name, a contest; so called because in it certain questions were discussed by different poets. One would propose the question and support one side

of it himself, then send what he had written to another poet who was supposed to support the other side, using the same metrical form as the first. The questions thus proposed were chiefly on love, and were often very trivial, as, for instance, the following: "Which are the greater, the joys or the sorrows of love?" "Whose love is the deeper, that of the man who declares his love, or that of the one who conceals it?" We can easily see that of the three forms of poetry given above, the *tenson* is the least important. The *sirvente* is as old as the *chanzos*, and dates from the time of the first Troubadour, William of Poitiers himself. Although not so largely represented as the love song, from an historical standpoint it is more important, showing as it does the opinions of men in those stormy times, and often bearing valuable testimony to historic events. It contains attacks on the clergy, on the pope, or heretics; rebukes or instigates wars between different princes; urges men to take the cross and to fight beyond the sea for the sepulcher of Christ. It was by means of these *sirventes* that the poet became the friend and ally of the great, their counselor and defender. There can be no doubt that by men like Bertrand de Born in Provence, and Walther von der Vogelweide in German, history has been influenced. We have only to recall the names of Swift and Addison, and the political pamphleteers of the reign of Queen Anne; of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the encyclopedists of France in the eighteenth century; or, better still, we have only to recall Rudyard Kipling's recent poem on the "Islanders," with its

Flanneled fools at the wicket,
The muddled oafs at the goal,

to appreciate to some degree the influence of the Troubadours on the political affairs of France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There are many valuable and interesting details which could be noted in regard to the political poetry of Provence; but we must hurry on, and devote the rest of our time to the love poetry, which is most characteristic of the period we are discussing, and which first occurs to the mind

at the mention of Provençal poetry, for the Troubadour was before all a love poet.

The Middle Ages were marked by conventionality and an exaggerated respect for authority. The modern idea of advancement along all lines, and of contempt for the past, was unknown to them. For the men of those days, it was enough to follow their predecessors, to accept the thoughts and doctrines of the Church and of the scholastic philosophy without question. Science consisted in repeating the strange stories of the bestiaries and lapidaries, or in the marvelous mechanism of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. In the art of painting the predecessors of Cimabue and Giotto were content to copy the stiff and conventional figures of the Byzantine school. So, too, in the poetry of the Troubadours, we find everywhere the stamp of conventionality.

In this age of steam heat and electric lights, of comfortable homes and the manifold amusements of social life, it is hard for us to realize the discomforts of the long winter nights of mediæval Europe, when cold and darkness, like the *pallida mors* of Horace, knocked with equal foot at the cabin of the poor and the palace of the rich. No wonder then that spring was welcomed by all mankind as the bearer of a new lease of life. No wonder then that we find all literature permeated with evidences of this joy. It was at Pentecost, *das liebliche Fest*, that begins the Beast Epic of Reineke Fuchs, as rendered into modern hexameters by Goethe; and you will remember that old Dan Chaucer sends his pilgrims on their way to Canterbury,

When that Aprillē with his schowres swoote,
The drought of Marche hath percēd to the roote.

Almost every song, not only of the Troubadours of Provence, but of the Trouvères of northern France and of the Minnesingers of Germany, begin with the description of the return of spring, the blooming of flowers, the singing of birds, followed by a reference to their own happy or unhappy experience in love. Take as an example of this almost universal

conventional opening of songs, the following lines from Arnaut de Marueil:

O, how sweet the breeze of April,
Breathing soft as May draws near!
While through nights of tranquil beauty
Songs of gladness meet the ear.

The Troubadour would choose a lady as the object of his worship and the theme of his songs; whether she were married or not mattered but little. Nay, according to the peculiar theory of chivalrous love, the former is preferred. Even in the case of unmarried women marriage is never mentioned as the object of the poet's vows. The lady in question is generally the wife or daughter of the patron of the singer, in whose castle he lives. Both lord and lady feel themselves honored by his praises, and the beauty of the latter becomes famous throughout the length and breadth of the land. Sometimes the poet seems to be really in love, but most often his worship is purely Platonic, a mere exercise of the intellect and æsthetic faculties. Hence love became an art, and was reduced to certain definite well-defined rules. These rules were codified, and there is still extant a manuscript containing such a code, compiled and written in Latin by André le Chapelain. What we find codified in this writer, however, we see scattered over all the poems of the Troubadours; and I shall now endeavor to give a brief summary of the conventional doctrines of love, which form the very spirit of all courtly poetry of the Middle Ages.

Love is universally personified; this is true of course in the mythology of the ancients, only in Provençal literature it is represented in the form not of Cupid, but of a goddess armed with lance and arrow, with which she wounds the heart of the lover. Thus Ue Brunet sings:

Love pierces deep with her fatal lance,

and Peire Raimon, of Toulouse:

I have known how love her spear
'Gainst the lover's heart can turn;
But how she sweetly heals the wound,
This, alas! I've yet to learn.

The reader of Dante's exquisite sonnet to Beatrice in the "New Life," or of Michael Angelo's sonnet to Vittoria Colonna, will remember the wonderful effect on the moral and spiritual nature attributed therein to the beauty of the loved one; thus Michael Angelo sings:

The might of one fair face sublimed my love,
For it hath weaned my heart from low desires;

and Dante sings:

Nay, I can say e'en more than I have said,
No man can evil think who looks on her.

These ideas of the great Italian poets are only the continuation of the doctrines of the Troubadours; for whom love was the creator of all that ennobles man, the source of all happiness, all purity and virtue. In the words of Pons de Capdueil:

Happy the man who love has won,
Through which comes joy of every kind;
And he who loves receives straightway
An upright, humble, noble mind.

While to Bernart de Ventadour, as to Robert Browning, six hundred years later,

Dead is the man whose wretched heart
Has never felt the bliss of love.

A very popular feature of Troubadour poetry is the analysis of the character of love, the tendency to study the psychology of one's own passion and the rules and doctrines deduced therefrom. Whole poems are devoted to this subject, and the introduction of it into the stories of King Arthur and the Holy Grail is one of the great lines of distinction between the courtly romance and the *Chanson de Geste*, as the stories devoted to national heroes, Charlemagne and William of Orange, are called in French. These quaint reflections and observations on the psychology of love appear constantly in the songs of the Troubadours. Love cannot be taken by violence, but must be the freewill offering of the person loved. The lover must be humble and patient, while, on the other hand, the lady must beware of yielding too easily; she must delay, linger, and not say yes at once.

Juliet's fear of being too quickly won was not merely the effect of maiden modesty, but the result of the conventional ideas which we are discussing, and which were not extinct in Shakespere's day,

O, gentle Romeo,
If thou dost love, pronounce it faithfully;
Or if thou think'st I am too quickly won,
I'll frown and be perverse and say thee nay.

To the Troubadour patience is the key that opens all hearts; the lover must be noble and true; eager to serve his lady, whose very slave he is. Bernart de Ventadour sings:

Behold, I, lady, am thy vassal true,
Devoted to thy service evermore;

Peire Vidal goes even further,

O lady, sell me, give me, as thou wilt;
My body, soul, and life are in thy hands.

Silence and discretion are of the highest importance. No lover should boast of the favors he has received and his lady's real name should never be mentioned. All these precautions are necessary in order not to awaken the suspicions of the jealous husband or friends of the lady. For although the love of the Troubadour was in general rhetorical and Platonic, yet it sometimes assumed more familiar relations, and evil consequences might result, as when Peire Vidal had his tongue slit, and Guillem de Cabestaing lost his life. This more intimate relation has given rise to the well-known *albas*, or *tage-lieder*, in which the watchman or friend of the lovers warns them of the approach of day and the time for them to separate. No better idea of these morning songs could be given than the balcony scene in "Romeo and Juliet," of which I shall speak later. The effects of love, according to the Provençal poets, are indeed wonderful; full of strange contradictions and paradoxes. It makes the soul happy and wretched at the same time; even its pains are pleasures. In the midst of all the turmoil of sorrow and joy the heart of the lover finds satisfaction in brooding over the beloved; the spirit flies over the intervening distance and communes with

the object of its affections; a kind of mystic telepathy is common to all poets. And yet when the lover is in the actual presence of his lady he is so filled with fear and timidity that he trembles, grows pale, and can scarcely speak. He is so humble and timid that he dares not ask for great favors, but is contented with a kind look or friendly word. Thus Peire Rogier:

For me, to gaze upon her face
Is joy enough; although no grace
Or favor more she deigns to give.

The poet prefers his love to all that is greatest and richest in the world; he would not exchange his lot for that of kings and emperors; nay, even heaven itself is a desert compared to the bliss of mutual love. So sings Arnaut de Marueil:

If by God's grace I win her love,
Sure, even the bliss of heaven above
To joys like this were but a desert drear.

The only thing that can destroy the power of such love is death; and when this terrible event occurs the poet writes his elegy, in which he laments the irreparable loss he has suffered; accusing Heaven of being envious of his joy and of taking his lady from earth to enrich the heavenly courts with her.

According to Karl Bartsch there are songs extant written by four hundred and sixty Troubadours, besides a number of anonymous poems. Of course, most of these are of no great importance; for the number of famous Troubadours is comparatively small. The lives of these are told briefly in the biographies of the Troubadours, written in Provençal by contemporaries, and prefixed to the manuscript containing their songs. Among the names that interest us most from a literary standpoint are those of Arnaut Daniel, whom Dante meets and converses with in Purgatory; Sordello, whom the great Florentine mentions in a passage that has suggested to Browning his poem of the same name. From the standpoint of history we are interested in those men of princely birth, William of Poitiers, the oldest of the Troubadours; Richard the Lion-hearted, and Alphonse, king of Aragon. One of the

most picturesque figures of the period is that of Bertrand de Born, the wild, war-loving poet, the bitter opponent of Henry II of England, and the instigator of the war carried on between the latter and the young King Henry, his son. A genuine affection existed between this prince and the Troubadour, who addressed many poems to him, as well as to his brother, Richard the Lion-hearted. According to the custom of the times, Bertrand adopted a pseudonym for the latter, always referring to him in his songs as "En Oc et No," "Lord Yes and No," a term which has recently become widely known through Maurice Hewlett's novel of *Richard Yea and Nay*. In the biographical sketch prefixed to the manuscript of the songs of Bertrand de Born, the unknown biographer relates the following incident, in which the touch of nature is seen that makes the whole world kin. After the death of the young prince Henry, Bertrand de Born was besieged by the king in his castle of Hautefort, and was forced to capitulate. When brought into the presence of the king the latter said, "Ah, Bertrand, you once said you did not need the half of the wits God had given you, but now methinks you will need them all." "Sire," answered the poet, "what I said is true; but the day that saw the death of the valiant king your son, and my lord, that day I lost not only my wits, but my heart and spirit." "Lord Bertrand," answered the king, "if you have indeed suffered this loss for the sake of my son, it is right, for he loved you better than any man in the world, and I for love of him will set you free and restore to you your castle, together with my love and favor." In this, however, the king showed himself more forgiving than Dante, who for the crime of Bertrand de Born, in turning son against father, places him in the eighth circle of hell, where schismatics are punished by being cloven asunder.

It would be extremely interesting if we had time to give in detail the romantic episodes in the lives of many of these Troubadours, such as Bernart de Ventadour, who, born of the humblest parentage, was the favorite in the courts of the Dukes of Normandy and the Counts of Toulouse; or such as

Peire Vidal, the Sancho Panza of the Provençal poets, half genius, half fool, "who wrote like an angel, but talked like poor Poll." Everyone knows at least the name of Jaufre Rudel, who, having heard of the beauty and goodness of the Countess of Tripoli, fell in love with her, without ever having seen her; and wandered over land and sea, in order to find her, succeeding only when about to die. This story has recently received a beautiful setting in the "*Princesse Lointaine*," written by the author of "*Cyrano de Bergerac*." One of the poems by Jaufre Rudel himself is still extant. Part of it I will quote. You will notice that every other line ends in the word *far*, a device which renders the rhyme monotonous, and which gives some idea of the artificiality so characteristic of Troubadour poetry.

Angry and sad shall be my way,
If I behold not her afar,
And yet I know not when that day
Shall rise, for still she dwells afar.

God, who has formed this fair array
Of worlds and placed my love afar,
Strengthen my heart with hope, I pray,
Of seeing her I love afar.

Perhaps the strangest of all "these strange, eventful histories" is that of the mediæval Thyestes, Raimon of Roussillon, and his cruel vengeance on the Troubadour Guillem de Cabestaing, who had won the love of his wife, Margarida, said to have been the most beautiful woman of her times. Guillem was the son of a poor knight, and had entered the service of Count Raymond as a page, and little by little had won the love of his highborn mistress, the Countess Margarida. Her husband, discovering this love, and half insane from jealousy, had the poet's head cut off, and tearing out his heart, had it roasted, and then gave it to his wife to eat. When she had eaten it he showed her the head of her lover and told her what he had done. "So sweet has this food tasted," answered she, "that I shall eat and drink no more forever," then threw herself from the balcony whereon she

stood, and died. This story was very popular in the Middle Ages, and forms the subject of a similar tale told of the Chatelain de Couci, besides being very frequently referred to in the poetry of the times.

We have thus gone over briefly the general history of Troubadour poetry; we have seen its outer form and inner characteristics, its ideas and its theories of love, and we have briefly touched on some of the more famous of the poets. We have seen the rise of this interesting phenomenon of mediæval literature toward the end of the eleventh century and its utter extinction at the end of the thirteenth century. After the year 1300 we find no more Troubadours, properly so called. The end of the poetry was sudden as its beginning. The land of Provence passed into the hands of northern France, and the inhabitants disappear from history as well as from literature as an independent people. Hereafter writers born in the south of France are merged into the great body of French literature. It is true that during the last fifty years the striking movement known as the Society of the *Félibriges* has made strong efforts to revive the language and the literature of their ancestors, and works of no mean value have been written in modern Provençal by men like Mistral, Roumanille, Felix Gras, and others, showing what might have been done if Provence had remained an independent country. This movement, however, is purely factitious. No literature can exist without a national life. Provence is, and must ever remain, a province; hence, her literature can never recover its former strength and glory. But although the literature of the Troubadours has been dead these many centuries its influence still lives. Nearly every country of western Europe during the Middle Ages was deeply impregnated with the thoughts, ideas, and poetic form of the Provençal poets. This is especially true of Spain, where Alphonse of Aragon was himself a poet, and was extravagantly praised for his hospitality to the wandering singers who crossed the Pyrenees in order to visit his court. Early Spanish courtly poetry is almost entirely translation or close imitation of the poetry of

their neighbors and kinsmen beyond the mountains. In Germany the Minnesingers treat of the same subjects in the same conventional way as the Troubadours; while in northern France, from the year 1150 on, the poetry of the South, introduced by the enthusiasm of Eleonore (granddaughter of William of Poitiers) and later fostered by her daughters, Marie and Aelis, spread rapidly over the land and reappeared in slightly different forms in the songs of the Trouvères, such as Gace Brulé, Thiebaut de Champagne, Richard de Fournivall, and others. In Italy the influence of the Troubadours is still more striking, and is of consummate importance for the student of not only Italian, but of English literature. In the north of Italy we have the singular spectacle of Italians writing in the Provençal language—Sordello, of Mantua; Bartolomeo Zorzi, of Venice; and Bonifacio Calvo, of Montferrat. In Sicily, at the brilliant court of Frederick II the first known examples of poetry in the vernacular were written, and were imitations of the Troubadours. In middle Italy the Tuscan school began with imitating the Troubadours, then gradually through Guido Guinicelli, of Bologna, and Guido Cavalcante, of Florence, changed the chivalrous ideal of woman to a spiritual and philosophical symbolism. This symbolism was carried to its loftiest height by the genius of Dante in the "New Life" and "Divine Comedy." Through Petrarch the doctrines of the Italian school were carried over into England, and can be plainly seen in the works of Surrey, Wyatt, Sidney, and Spenser. While we have no definite school in England inspired by the Troubadours directly, as is the case with Italy, Spain, and France, yet it is surprising how often we find their conventional ideas in the poetry not only of the past but of the present time. To say nothing of Surrey, Wyatt, and Sidney, already spoken of, and who, in the words of Puttenham, were "novices newly crept out of the schools of Italy," we find many examples of these conventional ideas in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. The most striking passage is the famous balcony scene in "Romeo and Juliet." You can get no better

idea of the alba, or morning song, of the Troubadours than is contained in the passage beginning with the lines:

Wilt thou be gone? it is not yet near day;
It was the nightingale, and not the lark,
That pierced the fearful hollow of thine ear.

In this scene the reluctance of the lovers to believe the evidences of their senses which tell them that the day has come, the clinging of Juliet, and the willingness of Romeo to stay in spite of danger are all entirely in the spirit of the Troubadours.

Of course this is not the place to discuss at length this interesting question as to the traces of conventional ideas in English poetry, and I have only time to touch upon it here and there. The conceits of Herrick, Lovelace, Waller, and others are often like what we find in Provençal. And as Cervantes satirizes the romances of chivalry in *Don Quixote*, so we find in the well-known poem of Sir John Suckling a parody of the supposed effects of love, alluded to almost universally by the Troubadours:

Why so pale and wan, fond lover?
Pr'y thee, why so pale?
Will, when looking well can't win her,
Looking ill prevail?
Pr'y thee, why so pale?

When the Troubadour Peyral sings,

Nor king nor emperor would I be,
If I no more must think of thee,

and Gaucelm Faidit,

The realm of France I would decline,
Without thy love, O lady mine,

we have the same thought contained in the lines of Pope's "Abelard and Heloisa,"

Though at my feet the world's great master fall
Himself, his power, his wealth, I'd spurn them all;
Not Cæsar's empress I would deign to prove,
No! make me mistress of the man I love.

The strange paradoxes of love, its mingling of joy and sorrow, so frequently referred to by the Troubadours, reap-

pear in modern literature in many forms. Thus Samuel Daniel sings:

Love is a sickness full of woes
 All remedies refusing,
 A plant that most with cutting grows,
 Most barren with best using;
 Why so?
 The more we enjoy it, more it dies;
 If not enjoyed, it sighing cries,
 Heighho!

While the same ideas have never been expressed so tenderly as in the pathetic song of Clärchen in Goethe's "Egmont:"

Joyful and sorrowful,
 And care-ful to be,
 Turning and yearning
 In sorrow, ah, me!
 Death sad, yet exulting
 To heaven above;
 Happy alone
 Is the soul that can love.

The very common custom of the Troubadours to contrast the joy and beauty of nature, the blooming of flowers, the singing of birds, with the sadness caused by unhappy love finds frequent repetition in the poetry of the nineteenth century, as for instance, in that song of Burns, known and loved by every English-speaking person,

Ye banks and braes o' bonny Doon,
 How can ye bloom so fresh and fair,
 How can ye sing, ye little birds,
 When I so weary, fu' o' care?

Nay, even in a great many hymns which we sing to-day, we find the same conventional treatment of these themes; as, for instance, the well-known hymn of John Newton,

How tedious and tasteless the hours
 When Jesus no longer I see!
 Sweet prospects, sweet birds, and sweet flowers,
 Have all lost their sweetness to me;
 The midsummer sun shines but dim,
 The fields strive in vain to look gay;
 But when I am happy in him,
 December's as pleasant as May.

Of course, I do not mean that in all these examples Shakespeare or Pope, or still less Burns, imitated consciously or

unconsciously the Troubadours; what I do mean to say is simply that the ideas of these old court poets, in regard to love, passed into the very lifeblood of mediæval lyric poetry, and so came down to the present time, changed in many ways, yet revealing their origin to the eyes of the student of comparative literature. What is true of lyrical poetry is true of all literature of the past; the classic drama and epic of Greece and Rome, the *Chanson de Gestes*, and courtly romances and fables of mediæval Europe. The great body of literature to-day is no simple phenomenon, but the result of innumerable influences exerted throughout the ages that are gone. Nation has acted upon nation, age upon age, man upon man, and even book upon book. If, then, we would obtain a clear conception of any one poet, we must know something about the literature of other times and other lands. Nor is it of small value for the lover of literature to-day to turn, from time to time, aside from the present and follow back the great stream of literature to its sources, the clear fountains of Greece, the smooth-running waters of Rome, and all the tributary streams that flow down from the icy North, from the wooded heights of the German uplands, or over the sunny plains of Provence. And perhaps, becoming thus acquainted with the literature of a simpler and less complex age than ours, the student will recognize more clearly how turbid is the stream of literature in this our own age of realistic description of vice and commonplaceness. For

This tract, which the river of time
Now flows through with us, is the plain.
Gone is the calm of its earlier shore.
Bordered by cities, and hoarse
With a thousand cries, is its stream.
And we, on its breast, our minds
Are confused as the cries which we hear,
Changing and short as the sights which we see.

And yet, perchance, such flights into the literature of the past may not merely render us discontented with the present, but may give us a hope in regard to the literature of the future. As we see the many vicissitudes through which literature has passed, how a period of especial glory has been

followed by a period of barrenness and sterility, and *vice versa*, we may hope that the present morbid and conflicting and often degrading tendencies of literature may, in the century on the threshold of which we now stand, be transformed to higher and nobler forms.

Haply the river of time,
As it grows, as the towns on its marge
Fling their wavering lights
On a wider, statelier stream,
May acquire, if not the calm
Of its earlier, mountainous shore,
Yet a solemn peace of its own.

And the width of the waters, the hush
Of the gray expanse where he floats,
Freshening its current and spotted with foam,
As it draws to the ocean, may strike
Peace to the soul of the man on its breast;
As the pale waste widens around him,
As the banks fade dimmer away,
As the stars come out, and the night wind
Brings up the stream
Murmurs and scents of the infinite sea.

L. Oscar Kuhns.

ART. III.—THE BAPTISMAL FORMULA OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

As an historical fact, capable of clearest proof, the Christian Church has believed from the beginning that, in the use of the Trinitarian formula in the administration of baptism, she was obeying to the letter the definite, authentic command of her divine Founder. The sifting, critical spirit of our time, however, with whose honest efforts to ascertain real truth the Church that has any respect for universally accepted scientific principles must ever be in helpful sympathy, seriously questions the grounds for this ancient belief, and not only endeavors to show that there is no scriptural authority, the genuineness of which may be implicitly relied upon, to support such belief, but also attempts to turn against the use of the formula in the early Church the New Testament itself, and the seeming dead silence of the apostolic fathers.

Thus, "after the third century," writes Professor Allen,* "the formula of baptism was in the name of the Trinity, and baptism otherwise performed was declared invalid; but in the early Church, as also in the apostolic age, there is evidence that the baptismal formula of the name of Jesus only was not unusual." This is a conservative statement, but Professor McGiffert† goes beyond this and says of this Trinitarian formula: "It is difficult to suppose that it was employed in the early days with which we are concerned; for it involves a conception of the nature of the rite which was entirely foreign to the thought of these primitive Christians, and, indeed, no less foreign to the thought of Paul. When and how the formula arose we do not know." In a note he adds that it is difficult to suppose that Jesus uttered the words, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," which are quoted in Matt. xxviii, 19; and to relieve the difficulty he suggests it as probable that the words

* *Christian Institutions*, p. 403.

† *The Apostolic Age*, p. 61.

were added by some scribe of the time when the formula had come in common use.

What, then, is the scriptural ground for the use of the Trinitarian formula in Christian baptism, and what is the evidence of its use in the apostolic Church? It must be admitted that in the New Testament the formula, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," occurs nowhere except in the single passage Matt. xxviii, 19. But of the genuineness of this passage there is no sufficient ground for reasonable doubt. It is found in all the manuscripts, and is accepted as genuine by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Lightfoot, Tregelles, Alford; indeed, by all the editors, although some recent writers, chiefly German, maintain that, like the appendix to Mark's gospel, chapter xvi, 16, it is a later addition. The objections urged against it are not textual, but dogmatic and historical. Thus, it is assumed that in the light of all we know of Jesus's principles and practice, it is difficult to suppose that Jesus ever uttered the words quoted in Matt. xxviii, 19. But evidently the question is not primarily how foreign the words in the text were to the principles and practices of our Lord, which supposition may or may not be correct, but whether he really did or did not use them. The resort to an unknown scribe of an unknown date simply reveals conscious weakness to make out a case. It would be just as rational to imagine some redacting scribe, charmed with the characteristic brevity of the evangelist, omitting the same formula from the gospel by Mark. On textual grounds there is, as a matter of fact, not the slightest evidence that the words in question were not uttered by our Lord. Nevertheless Professor McGiffert declares that, even if they were an integral part of Matthew's gospel, it is still uncertain that they were spoken by Christ, "for the evidence of Matthew alone, unsupported by any other gospel, is inconclusive"—a sweeping statement which no canon of textual criticism will justify. No credible theory can be invented for the baptismal formula in Matthew if Christ is not its author. We cannot attribute the words to the evangel-

ist himself as a private interpretation of some saying of Christ, if, as Professor McGiffert asserts, the collocation of "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" suggests a conception of baptism entirely foreign to the thought of his immediate disciples. Nor, if we have recourse to the development hypothesis, is there time sufficient for the growth of the formula between the date of the Acts and the period of its known use, which certainly was much later than the date of its origin, for as Professor McGiffert, having in mind all that is necessarily involved, truly says, "From the simple formula, 'Into the name of Jesus Christ,' the step is a long one to the formula, 'Into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.'"

Other objections, such as, if Christ gave this commission it is difficult to understand the antipathy of the apostles to missions among the Gentiles; and that the commission is contrary to Christ's own practice, since he limited his mission to Israel (Matt. xv, 24), and commanded his chosen twelve not to go in the way of the Gentiles (Matt. ix, 5), rest upon no better support. For evidence we are given theories, and for cautious reasoning the unsubstantial product of a lively imagination. Bernhard Weiss, for example, regards this commission as purely subjective, a conviction inspired by the exalted Christ in the hearts of his disciples, having possibly Matt. xviii, 20, as an historical basis.* But the Acts of the Apostles (ii, 17; x, 34; xi, 22; xii, 18; xv, 1) and the Epistle to the Galatians (ii) afford complete and final answers to the first objection. They show clearly that the Gentile church at Antioch was under supervision of the Jewish church at Jerusalem, and that the apostles glorified God in that he had granted repentance unto life to the Gentiles. As for the second objection, based on the limitation of our Lord's sphere of activity at an early period of his ministry, it can never be held on this ground that Christ never intended that his Gospel should become universal.† Such a

* *Life of Christ*, book vii, chap. xii. *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, vol. i, p. 139.

† See Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, vol. ii, p. 346 ff.

principle of interpretation is altogether too narrow and mechanical, and results only in extricable confusion, as may be tested by applying it to such texts as John xvi, 26, and the earlier declaration of our Lord in John xiv, 16. Which of these two passages on this principle must be eliminated? Christ's teachings interpreted without dogmatic prepossessions convey no other impression than that he intended his Gospel should be preached to all men (Matt. xxiv, 14; xxvi, 13; Mark i, 17; xiv, 9); that his Church should become universal (Matt. v, 13, 14); that many should come from the ends of the earth and sit down in his kingdom (Matt. viii, 11; Luke xiii, 28-30); and a glance at Matt. xv, 21; viii, 5-13; Luke xvii, 11-19, will be evidence sufficient that he did not confine himself always and solely to the Jews. Critics who think otherwise limit Christ's own conception of the nature and destiny of his kingdom.

The difficulty, however, of accepting the authenticity of the formula-text in Matthew from the supposed fact that "the early disciples, and Paul as well, baptized into the name of Christ alone," which they would not have done had Christ given the commandment quoted in Matthew, is of another character. Nowhere in the New Testament is the formula repeated. On the contrary, everywhere in the Acts where baptism is mentioned, we find that it was administered only *εἰς*, or *ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα*, *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* *Ἰησοῦ*, or *Χριστοῦ*. How can this constant repetition of the name of Christ alone be accounted for, if Christ gave the formula quoted in Matthew? We might primarily inquire how we can account for baptism in the name of Christ at all, since, in the first place, nowhere does Christ command baptism to be administered in his name alone; and, secondly, nowhere does he authorize the use of his name in baptism in connection with the Father and the Holy Spirit but in this text of Matthew. It is just as difficult to account for Christ's name alone as it is to account for the omission of the names of the Father and the Spirit. But the difficulty may not be at all real. To us it is only an apparent difficulty, for as a verifiable fact it is certainly clear

that in no instance in the New Testament is the rite of baptism anywhere *described*, but in every case baptism is mentioned only as having been administered. This fact has very important bearing and should not be overlooked or underestimated. Special, designed prominence in reporting the baptism may have been given the name of Christ as the Messiah, distinguishing it from Johannine baptism; or it may have been a phrase, a brief form of expression, well understood among Christians as to its real meaning. It is illogical, therefore, to draw such large conclusions from such small premises, for in the light of the indisputable fact that baptisms are indicated but never described, the constantly recurring phrase, "Baptized in the name of Christ," does not warrant the sweeping inference that the formula given by Christ was not used at all. It is much better to conclude with Godet that the oft-repeated phrase "*est une forme abrégée pour désigner le baptême Chrétien en general.*"

There are, however, passages of Scripture which indicate both the knowledge and the use of the formula by the apostles. Omitting Titus iii, 4-6, we find in Acts xix that when Paul came to Ephesus he found certain disciples and said to them, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism." Certainly they could not have heard of the Holy Spirit in John's baptism, and of this the apostle is fully aware, as his comment on the purpose of the Johannine baptism shows. But what does Paul's question, "Unto what then were ye baptized?" necessarily imply? It certainly expresses surprise, interest, curiosity in the case if they had received Christian baptism, as Paul undoubtedly assumed they had, but had not heard of the Holy Ghost. It implies more than this. It emphatically compels belief that the Holy Spirit was at that date named in Christian baptism, otherwise Paul's question was without reason and wholly irrelevant. We cannot modify or evade the force of this

evidence. The only solution of it is that the Matthew formula was in common use. We may here note in passing that Meyer's comment on *εἰς τὸ οὖν* is satisfactory, but when he observes, "The presupposition in this *εἰς τὸ οὖν* is, that they, baptized in the name of Christ, could not but have received the Holy Ghost," he is going too far. It does not fit in with the historical facts, Acts viii, 15, 16, nor with the tense of the participle *πιστεύσαντες*. De Wette's note on *εἰς τὸ οὖν* shows clearer apprehension: "Wenn das so ist, worauf den, etc., *εἰς τὸ*, nicht in *quo* (Vulg.), . . . sondern auf *was*." And he says, "Es bezeichnet aber nicht den Zweck (Mey.), sondern die verpflichtende Beziehung der Taufe."

Definite, decisive patristic evidence for or against the use of the Trinitarian formula in the subapostolic Church, or of any baptismal form, is wanting. But there is no lack of Trinitarian expressions in Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement, and others of that age demonstrating the familiarity of that age with Trinitarian ideas. Out of that dim, far-away period only one document, a Syrian or Palestinian manual, based probably on an earlier Egyptian work, has come down to us which throws any certain light upon the subject. But that light is clear and proves, if any testimony can prove beyond unreasoning cavil, the use of the Trinitarian formula at the time this manual was written. This earliest document, the *Didache*—which Schaff and Lightfoot and others place A. D. 90-A. D. 100, although Harnack, in his *Chronologie d. alt. christl. Litt.* dates it A. D. 131-A. D. 160, later than which it cannot be placed—gives this direction: "Now concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: having first uttered all these things baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." It further specifies that when the baptism is by pouring, the water shall be poured upon the head thrice "into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."

But particular attention should now be given to the important fact that elsewhere, in directions concerning the Lord's Supper, this Church manual says, "Let no one eat or

drink of your Eucharist except those baptized into the name of the Lord, *εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου*," the very phrase we meet with in the New Testament. This seems to indicate that being baptized "in the name of the Lord" was only another way, a briefer form of expressing the same idea, that the two, in thought, were synonymous, and not at all that there were two distinct forms, one in the name of the Trinity and the other in the name of Christ only. The *Didache* knows nothing of two such forms. The question then naturally arises, Does not this throw suggestive, explanatory light on what was commonly understood by such phrases as occur in Acts ii, 38; x, 48; viii, 16; xix, 5? And is not the passage in Hermas (*Vis.*, iii, c. 7), "baptized in the name of the Lord," and similar passages in all the Fathers and in the Apostolic Constitutions and in Barnabas also to be understood in the same sense as in the *Didache*? If so, then it is probable, to say the least, that the formula given by our Lord in Matt. xxviii, 19, was not only used, but was the only one in universal use in the apostolic and subapostolic periods. Clement frequently uses the Trinitarian collocation (chaps. xli, xlii, xlv); Ignatius also (*Ep. Ephes.*, 9; *Ep. Magnes*, 13); *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, chap. xiv, 22. Compare Athenagoras (*Plea*, c. x). Justin Martyr, early in the second century describing Christian baptism, says, "Then they are brought to where there is water and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were regenerated. For in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they there receive the washing with water." The old Roman symbol is based on the formula in Matthew, but the probable date of that symbol is about A. D. 150. Here, then, in different and widely remote parts of the world, and near the same period, we find the Matthew formula in use. But we must go further, for if the inference is correct that the formula was long in use before any mention was made of it, we are carried back to the days of the apostles. Dr. McGiffert concedes that the formula was in common use before the end of the second century, but

contends that as late as the middle of the third century there were Christians who refused to use it and insisted on being baptized in the name of Christ. There is no certain evidence for this, but he cites Cyprian's *Letter to Jubianus*, pseudo-Cyprian *De Rebaptismate*, the Apostolic canons, and Ambrose's defense of the validity of the short form. But these references do not prove the correctness of his statement. The same method of reasoning would put every heresy of the apostolic age on equal footing with the truth held by the Church. We have not space to set this forth as it should be. We can only say Cyprian does not object to receiving the followers of Marcion because they were baptized in the name of Christ only, but for the significant reason that, like their leader, they did not believe in the faith of the Church, in the Trinity. In a word, they are not Christians at all.

Finally, the theory that the formula grew up in the Gentile Church,* which seems to be necessary in order to strengthen the position that it was not in use in the earliest Christian-Jewish Church and was therefore unknown to the apostles, wholly breaks down when we consider that we do not first find, as we should, this formula in Luke's gospel, primarily intended for the Gentiles, but in Matthew's gospel, which was for the Jews. Nor do we first find it, as according to the theory we should find it, in the fathers of the World-Church, the Gentile Church, but in a Palestinian document based on an Alexandrian original, the date of which was probably A. D. 75, and whose author was a Christian Jew.

* *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 181-183.

R. J. Cooke.

ART. IV.—BRUNO—MONK, PHILOSOPHER, SEER,
MARTYR.

ON the seventeenth of February next the anniversary of the death of Fra Bruno will be celebrated in the Campo di Fiori (Field of Flowers), on the identical spot in the city of Rome where he was burned at the stake for his heresies. The site is marked by a beautiful monument with a colossal figure in bronze of the intrepid monk in full habit, looking down upon the scene. Two years ago the three hundredth anniversary was held, and the Italian government, as guardian of the freedom of the people (*sic*), fearing an uprising, prohibited any public celebration of the event. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the students from the high schools and university with hundreds of others passed round the monument and threw flowers at its foot. For several days after crowds of people assembled and paid their tribute to the man who in the beginning of the seventeenth century, despite the anathemas of the Church, advocated freedom of thought, and then died for the cause he loved better than life. When I visited the scene an old man, bent with years, stood and gazed earnestly on the figure, oblivious to his surroundings, and then hearing my voice in English behind him, turned abruptly around and exclaimed in broken English, "That is the man who shed his blood for the liberties we now enjoy: I take off my hat to him." With that he suited the action to the word, and I, thrilled with his enthusiasm, replied, "And so do I." Overcome with emotion, he bade me "good-bye," and passed on. That tottering old man voiced the sentiments of thousands in the Eternal City.

To understand the influence of Bruno, consider briefly the four characteristic periods of his life.

I. *Bruno the Monk.* Born about the year 1548 in Nola, Italy, we know very little of his early history. Even the date of his birth is doubtful. That which is known is interesting enough to make us long for details. He was a boy of

strong mental acumen but severely religious. At the age of fifteen he had entered the order of the Dominicans at Naples, submitting to a harsh *régime*, with an evident intention of conscientiously taming his fervid spirit. He is even said to have composed a treatise on the ark of Noah—an uninteresting subject surely for such a passionate soul. The forced discipline was unavailing. He chafed under the restrictions, and cherishing the spirit, unfortunately, of an Esau, he believed every man's hand to be against him, and became a wanderer over the face of the earth. Some of the mysterious rites of the holy Roman Church he totally repudiated, and this the strict brotherhood of St. Dominick, always the defenders of the faith, could not brook. He was accordingly charged with impiety, and after enduring much persecution at the hands of his brother friars, he, at the age of twenty-eight, fled from Rome. The great Reformation had already matured. Luther had been dead thirty years, but the spirit of the Reformation was fully alive, and Bruno, two years later, found himself in Geneva, the home of Calvin. That astute and stern philosopher had been at rest thirteen years. Only twenty-four years before Servetus had been burned at the stake in that city, with the connivance of Calvin, for denying the doctrine of the Trinity, and, of course, this was not congenial soil for a spirit like Bruno's. Yet, while he did not actually identify himself with the new Reformers (though some have supposed that he embraced the Protestant faith), he was influenced greatly by their spirit. He became drunk with the wine of freedom. With a rich spiritual life, he might have become a Thomas à Kempis, but lacking it, he found refuge in a cold and barren philosophy.

II. *Bruno the Philosopher.* Here we see the man of strong mental grasp, with positive convictions, refusing to be trammelled with conventionalities. He was a bitter opponent of the Aristotelian system of philosophy, and a hearty supporter of the Copernican system of Astronomy, the author of which had died ten years before Bruno's birth. Like Bacon and Telesius, he preferred the ancient Greek philoso-

phers "who had looked at nature for themselves, and whose speculations had more of reality in them." As Professor Adamson says:

He had read widely and deeply, and in his own writings we come across many expressions familiar to us in earlier systems. Yet his philosophy is no eclecticism. He owed something to Lucretius, something to the Stoic nature-panteism, something to Anaxagoras, to Heraclitus, to the Pythagoreans, and to the Neoplatonists, who were partially known to him; above all, he had studied deeply and profoundly the great German thinker, Nicolas of Cusa, who was indeed a speculative Copernicus. But his own system has a distinct unity and originality; it breathes throughout the fiery spirit of Bruno himself.

In his peregrinations on the Continent he arrived at Toulouse, then as now, an important intellectual center, where he lectured on astronomy. He was offered a chair of philosophy there, provided he would receive the mass. This he positively refused to do, but was permitted to deliver lectures. In 1583 under the protection of the French ambassador, Michel de Castelnau, Bruno went to England, where he resided for nearly two years. The pedantry and superstitions of the Oxford empirics greatly disgusted him, but he found a congenial soul in Sir Philip Sidney, the courtly gentleman. His best works were written in England, because of the greater freedom he enjoyed there under Protestant influences. His two great metaphysical works, *Della Causa, Principio, ed Uno* and *De l'Infinito Universo, e Mondi*, caused a great sensation in the philosophical world. We cannot follow his philosophical conclusions, but his radical views were the reactionary effect of mediæval puerility upon a righteous soul struggling to conquer his environment. Radicalism always goes from one extreme to the other. While he is classed by some among freethinkers, he was not an atheist. He believed in God and the immortality of the soul, and judging by the medallions round the pedestal of the monument at Rome, among which are such names as Wyclif, Huss, Paliario, Servetus, and Vanini, his present-day admirers recognize him as a religious reformer. Had he lived in this

day he would have been encouraged in his speculations, which would have had the effect of modifying his extreme tendencies.

III. *Bruno the Seer.* The inscription on his monument is suggestive: "IX Giugno, MLCCCLXXXIX. A Bruno: il Secolo da lui divinato" (June 9, 1889. To Bruno: the Century foreseen by him). He knew the time was coming when the freedom he fought for would be respected. The prophetic instinct was strong in him. That strange dialogue of his, *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante*, or "Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast," is an allegory, and in some of the passages one might almost imagine a second Isaiah or Ezekiel telling the story of some dread vision. It is a treatise on moral philosophy, and is conspicuous for being the sum total of Bruno's philosophy. To quote Professor Adamson once more:

The gods are represented as resolving to banish from the heavens the constellations, which served to remind them of their evil deeds. In their places are put the moral virtues. The first of the three dialogues contains the substance of the allegory, which, under the disguise of an assault on heathen mythology, is a direct attack on all forms of anthropomorphic religion. . . . Among the moral virtues which take the place of the beasts are Truth, Prudence, Wisdom, Law, and Universal Judgment. Wisdom is Providence itself in its supersensible aspect, in man it is reason which grasps the truth of things; Law results from Wisdom, for no good law is irrational, and its sole end and aim, the good of mankind; Universal Judgment is the principle whereby men are judged according to their deeds, and not according to their belief in this or that catechism.

Then he launches out in the bitterest attacks on the established religion. The monks he stigmatises as "pedants who would destroy the joy of life on earth, who are avaricious, dissolute, and the breeders of eternal dissensions and squabbles." In his righteous revolt from time-worn dogmas he runs riot, ridiculing miracles and the mysteries of faith. His enthusiasm for freedom ran away with his judgment, and he was impatient of restraint. If Bruno had lived in the nineteenth century he would have been a Cavour, or a Garibaldi,

or possibly a Mazzini or a Gavazzi. But living three hundred years ahead of his time he became the victim of unreasoning prejudice and ecclesiastical misrule.

IV. *Bruno the Martyr.* His uncompromising attitude toward his ecclesiastical enemies brought him into trouble wherever he went. At Venice he was seized, and for six years was a prisoner in that city. He was then brought to Rome for trial. One of the bas-reliefs on the monument represents him before the ecclesiastical court. There he stands with head erect, and clenched fists, his whole bearing one of proud defiance. "Do your worst," he seems to say, "I fear you not." He was sentenced to be burned at the stake in the Field of Flowers—strange irony of Fate. On the seventeenth of February, 1600, he was led out to death. The story is told, doubtless by his enemies, that the monks offered him the crucifix as he was led to the stake, and that he turned away, refusing to kiss it. That does not depreciate him in the eyes of Protestants; that is no proof that he had lost faith in Christ. Scioppus, the Latinist, who was present at the execution, referring sarcastically to one of Bruno's so-called heresies—the infinity of worlds, which by the way, orthodox Christians believe to-day—wrote, "The flames carried him to those worlds which he had imagined." Cruel sarcasm and yet unvarnished truth. He was ushered into the presence of his Maker, who knew Bruno's heart better than any man could, and as we believe in Christ, we believe also in his word, "In my Father's house are many mansions. If it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you."

The world is the better for the life of this fearless advocate of freedom; the Church that persecuted him to death is now ashamed of the part it performed, while all men who enjoy political and religious liberty ought to thank God for the life and work of the heroic monk of Naples.

Fredrick W. Wright

ART. V.—SHAKESPEARE'S DOCTRINE OF SIN.

Who comes to Shakespeare for moral lessons, set forth as such, labeled and sorted, will go away empty. The poet presents facts; he awakens, quickens, fires the moral sensibilities. Then we can make our own lessons. We leave Shakespeare with a more clearly defined bias to that which is good, because of his wholesome attitude toward sin. Shakespeare does not preach. But a preacher may take the old familiar texts, "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap," "Be sure your sin will find you out," and Shakespeare will furnish him material and illustration for sermons plenty. And there shall be in them no hesitant note, no nice balancing 'twixt righteousness and sin. Character determines conduct. What a man will do in a crisis may be determined by what he is when the crisis arrives. All his development has been preparing him for the supreme moment. So Hamlet comes to his crucial hour unfit for it. He is impelled to a signal revenge for his father's murder, and everything outside his own character draws him to this fearful filial duty. Even he himself struggles with himself to this end. He feels that he must do this thing; he will have proof and then he will act. But his years of study and dreaming have left him unfit for terrible deeds, and he makes no opportunity, and takes none, though often they offer themselves. Even at the last he acts under compulsion. Accident is heaped on accident to show the King's new villainy before Hamlet is nerved to slay him.

Shakespeare takes the problem of evil as he finds it. He does not seek to justify the ways of God to man. Evil exists, and because of it the innocent suffer. Cordelia's pure and earnest life has but slight flaw, and yet she dies. Othello may have sinned, but he has no desert of Iago's fiendish malice, and we feel that a great soul has been hounded to death. Hamlet falls in the general ruin of a state in which he has been the only one of royal blood without the guilt of

mortal sin. Banquo dies, though the witch temptation has not moved him, and Macduff is robbed of wife and little ones, though a patriot and a man. But by the side of this evil there is ever a sweet and holy enthusiasm for the good. Why should the good folk fall? He does not know. But they do fall, in the plays as in the great world. Dr. Johnson thought it a much-bettered Lear that let Cordelia live and be a happy wife. Shakespeare offers no such cheap and superficial solutions. Cordelia does not die—she lives, as a poet's bright creation, more vitally and truly as a sacrifice. The poet is more moral and more true to nature than the critic. Shakespeare's world is one in which sin is. It has been there from the beginning. It taints the very air. The soul of weak vitality takes the infection; the healthy soul repels it. Macbeth and Banquo on the witches' heath are both the subjects of their oracles. Because Macbeth is already familiar with the thought of sin for ambition's sake, the thrice-told augury, rising at each step, finds lodgment in his heart. It seems almost like the echo of his own thought. The oracle has no such effect on Banquo. It slips harmless from his untarnished nature. But Macbeth is a potential villain, and for such there is always sufficient encouragement from the outer world. Let a Roderigo look with desire on another's wife, and Iago is not far away. Laertes must have gone some distance on the way of sin before the suggestion of a poisoned sword could win his hearing and consent. Macbeth is under no compulsion. Sin is not necessitated. Whatever metaphysics may teach, Shakespeare knows that as a practical proposition it is safe and sane to believe in human freedom. Macbeth holds parley with his conscience. He weighs, considers, plainly sees his contemplated sin. And seeing it, he chooses it. The supernatural beings are emphasizees and clarifiers of human act and thought. The witches are not fates. They do not impel Macbeth, resisting, to his sin. He has invited the devil to sup with him and finds the fiend will stay the night. His start when the witches speak is not surprise, but recognition. His own thought is objectified before

him, and he sees it more plainly than before. The apparitions which trouble Richard the night before Bosworth are not mere wraiths; they are cumulative testimony to Richard that his past is not forgotten. If he had thought the morrow would be a field for an unhampered soldier to win his final victory, these visions are his disillusionment. They show him himself as he is, not adding to or lessening his sin, but making it vivid and emphatic, and showing him that he goes to his last battle with the burden of all his past, not less heavy because impalpable, a burden that shall make his downfall sure.

Shakespeare is confident in his constant presentation of sin as doomed to hopeless failure. Sin never succeeds. It causes tragedies, it spoils nations and peoples and civilizations, but it ever increases to its own destruction. This is a great and beneficent law. It is the promise of the final harmony. It is the dominant note in the last scene of the great tragedies. It is sounded in "Lear," where filial love and tenderness are exalted and unnatural baseness cowers and dies. It is heard in the catastrophe of "Hamlet," where sin, like the rattlesnake, dies of its own sting. It is the message of "Othello" that Iago can have no abiding triumph. He does not die; worse for him, he lives, an object lesson of the fatality of sin. It is the great lesson of "Richard III." He starts a career of sin. If for no better reason, he will sin for the sake of sinning. His philosophy is "Evil, be thou my good." He is an intense and consistent believer in his creed. He never falters, never swerves; he preserves the unities in his villainy. No man could be more devoted to his life purpose. He stops at nothing, knows neither kinship, nor reverence for age, nor pity for youth, nor consideration for woman. He is a perfect villain. But his very perfection of villainy is his ruin. He is one man against the leagued universe. The stars in their courses fight against him. His very tools turn against him. He has chosen to cut himself off from humanity, and humanity cannot let him prosper. It is the unvarying voice of history and individual experience. No

Richard can succeed. The whole world cries out against him; he must not succeed. To allow his success is to invite chaos. There can be no ultimate, permanent triumph of disorganizing forces. The stream of tendency that makes for righteousness is too strong a tide for any Richard to turn back. It overwhelms him. The unvarying tendency of evil to defeat its own ends is shown most strongly in Iago. Sin has corrupted his heart, but it has also disturbed the balance of his judgment. He cannot understand goodness, repentance, righteousness. He can see how a man might be good for a price, or a woman virtuous for value received. But how amazed he is to discover that his wife, who has surely nothing to gain by it, can turn on him and denounce him! The possibility of such a thing had never entered into his calculations.

And so, apart from any personal faith in the Absolute, in God, in the power that rules the world, Shakespeare makes us take sides with righteousness. To him sin is abnormal, disintegrating, and ultimately self-destroying. Shakespeare was no sectary, and it is as easy to prove him Roman Catholic as Protestant. There be those who have taken briefs on either side, and have made out their case, to their own great satisfaction. But in religion, as in all else, the impersonality of the poet's work yields no clue to his private peculiarities of faith. In a large sense we are safe in saying that he had no faith in any emancipation of the soul from sin by external processes. Regeneration is not mechanical. We feel that Antonio strikes a discordant note when he requires Shylock to become a Christian. It is not Shakespeare's usual way. He does not love forced conversions, compelled reformations. The way of the transgressor is hard, even when it leads to repentance and regeneration. So Lear finds it, with dead Cordelia as the fruit of his imperious self-love and desire for praise. So Gloster finds it, with his staring sockets open to every outer thing save light. So Montague and Capulet find it, when they see how their long-cherished feud has slain the flower of both their houses. If Iago will not repent there

must be no compulsion. For the unrepentant there is retribution, and the call to repentance is not universally obeyed. There is sharp distinction here. The master principle of life is not to be touched from without, and we feel that in the Hamlet catastrophe the four deaths are not an ending of all difference. Hamlet dies not as the King and Queen and Laertes. To him death is a portal of promise; to them, the mouth of the pit.

Another phase of this thought is seen in Shakespeare's treatment of forgiveness. Pardon must affect two, before it can be operative, he who gives and he who takes. Except there be the will to forgive and the will to be forgiven, it is vain. There is no real forgiveness in the closing of the trial scene in the "Merchant of Venice." No jot of hate has left the Jew's heart—only the power to give it exercise. No hint of mercy is in Antonio's final settlement with Shylock. Both are as they were, the one malignant, bitter, vengeful; the other scornful, arrogant, and lifted up. Twice their relation has been changed by outer circumstances, but not for a moment have they ceased to be at odds. There is no real fullness of forgiveness even in Prospero's wholesale dealing out of freedom and amnesty. To most of those whom it affects it is real forgiveness; but not to Caliban, nor Sebastian, nor Antonio, whose inner nature is not touched by it. They are as they were, and for them Prospero's large-hearted nobleness is but new opportunity for them to exercise their evil powers. Hermione forgives, and her forgiveness has real worth, because her husband is ready for it. He is pitied of her; his self-abasement and real repentance have prepared a soil where pardon can spring up into new happiness.

Perhaps the greatest of Shakespeare's teachings on sin is the sureness of its punishment. He pushes this truth home in every tragedy. Righteousness really rules the world, though sometimes it is slow to make its ruling felt. Retribution is sure to come. It may come from without, as in Richard, or from within, as in Lear; it may be in life, as in Shylock, or in death, as in Claudius. Shylock's malignant

hatred brings his ruin, Claudius' suspicious hatred of Hamlet brings his ruin, Richard's unbroken villainy brings his ruin. Lear's willful imperiousness is punished in his madness and his heart-broken grief. As becomes the poet, Shakespeare makes the punishment a fruitage of the sin. Sowing to the wind reaps the whirlwind. Macbeth's rise is a crime for which his fall is retribution, and the material for the retribution is the last successful detail of the crime, the murder of Banquo. Shylock is ruined by the law he has himself invoked. Iago is defeated by his tools and victims. He began to be a villain on Emilia's account, and at last Emilia exposes him. He makes of Roderigo a pliant instrument, and Roderigo's pockets accuse him. Cassio is one whom he aims to bring low, and Cassio, as Othello's successor, performs his first official function in sending Iago to the torture. In Richard III there is constant play and counterplay of retribution. Clarence betrayed Lancaster. He dies by the order of the brother whom his sin benefited, and dies reproached for the sin by the very murderers who dispatch him. The King has betrayed his brother, and his last moments are tortured by the vision of that brother's death, the disturber of his cheap-patched peace. Hastings exults over his enemies, and himself dies without shrift when no longer a fit tool for Richard. Retribution comes late to Richard, but at last it comes even to him, and before he dies he sees how hopeless his case has been from the beginning. Macbeth is long tortured by the avenging powers. His sin finds him out before any external catastrophe proclaims it to the world. He sees what an empty glory he has purchased with his soul's peace.

It is venturing on uncertain ground when we seek to discover whether Shakespeare meant to hint that there would be a future to redress the balance of to-day. Hamlet had his misgivings about that bourne from whence no traveler returns, and certainly the catastrophe in the tragedies does not seem to have the note of finality. Othello has but just begun to live, when he dies; Hamlet is but just cured of that

fatal irresolution which has marred his life, when he falls. Moreover, we cannot believe that Hamlet and Claudius are dead the one in the same case as the other, or that Cordelia and her sisters are alike in death. But whether Shakespeare means to carry the consequence of sin beyond the grave or not, he is unvarying in his emphasis on the consequences here.

This, then, is the poet's message, his doctrine of sin. Whence it came, and why, he does not know. He knows that it is possible to men. But he knows, too, that no man is under bondage to sin, save by choice. Even his villains cannot believe such necessity. "We make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars; as if we were villains by necessity; fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and treachers, by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on. . . . I should have been that I am, had the maidenliest star in the firmament twinkled at my bastardizing." Temptation to sin, and invitation to goodness, is not compulsion. Sin is hopelessly and forever wrong, self-destructive, at war even with the sinner. Regeneration is an inner process, not an outer ceremony; no priest can absolve from sin or confer the power of righteousness. To the unrepentant sinner retribution is sure, though haply leaden-footed and unheeded. And finally—though there is not space to elaborate this thought, it runs through all the plays—self-abnegation is salvation. He that loseth his life shall save it.

David B. Brunmitt

ART. VI.—THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN AMERICA
IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCUSSION.

RECENT discussions on theological education in America have been around three points: (1) Beneficiary aid to students, (2) narrowness of the curriculum, and (3) unscientific character of the instruction on account of the bondage to creeds.

1. It is well known that in the older and wealthier theological schools financial aid is given outright to worthy and poor students. This aid is the result of funds bequeathed by pious founders. Their thought was: Not many rich after this world are called to the ministry; if those who are called wait till they earn sufficient money the best years will be taken up by worldly toil which ought to be given to study and actual preparation; as the government supports men studying arms, as the Catholic Church supports its candidates, so it is not unreasonable that the Church should see to it that worthy and promising young men are not turned aside from the ministry for lack of funds. Within the last five years this system of ministerial aid has been subjected to fierce criticism, and so great has been the influence of this criticism that some schools have either abolished altogether this method, or are preparing to do it. One of the chief opponents of eleemosynary aid is President Hyde of Bowdoin College, and he has been seconded by President Eliot of Harvard. It is alleged that this method destroys manliness and self-respect, and tends to undermine that feeling of independence which is the joy and pride of the minister, as of other men. It is also said that other professions, such as those of law and medicine, do not thus provide for their adherents, and there is no more reason why this should be done in the ministry. These arguments appeal to us. History, however, is a great corrector of *a priori* arguments. It is an actual fact that those Churches which have founded the most scholarships for needy students, and have trained the

most students on them, have had the most independent ministers. It has not appeared that men who have been helped in their preparatory years by charitable foundations have been lacking in self-respect or self-assertion. These foundations are looked upon as part of that ample provision for education and Christianity by which men of wealth and public spirit have in part paid back to the people what they have received. The carrying out of this principle of refusing aid would vacate every school in Christendom. What destroys the independence of the minister, if it is destroyed at all, is not the fund which in the needy days of his youth helped him through college and the theological school, but that of which the sacred Book speaks, the fear of man that bringeth a snare, the rich deacon in the front pew, the committee on pastoral supply, or the presiding elder or bishop who says "Go," and he goeth.

So much being said, we think those Churches and theological seminaries are to be commended who combine beneficiary aid with scholarly or business considerations; that is, who give aid only to men of a certain rank in scholarship—though this may work hardship to men of very great usefulness in the ministry—or who give this aid only as loans.

2. It has been charged that the curriculum of theological schools is too narrow, too exclusively theological. Social and political questions are coming to the front—questions of charity, politics, and social science, questions of municipal government and suppression of vice—and it is said that it is much more important for the minister to know what to say on these questions than for him to be thoroughly schooled on the opinions of Theophilus of Antioch on the relation of the two natures of Christ, or as to exactly what vogue the Apostles' Creed, or any parts of it, had in the third or fourth century. We sympathize with this thought. The attitude of a minister to a labor organization, his influence in suppressing a mob, or in mediating between the rich and poor, is of vast importance—certainly as important as the question of the quantity of water in baptism, or the method of the

presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Is it not as important that a clergyman should know what is being done in prison reform, should have studied the question of punishment, as it is that he should understand the relative length of the introduction to the sermon, the history of the surplice, or whether the best manuscripts in a verse in Philemon say *touton* or *toutou*? I think this is being realized in theological seminaries, and it is worthy of all praise that they are providing for the new interest in sociology. Instance the work of Andover and of Andover House in Boston and the valuable series of articles by Professor (now President) Tucker in the *Andover Review*, the chair of Sociology in Boston and Hartford theological schools, the new Pearsall foundation at Drew, and the same work in the Chicago and other seminaries. It is indeed of portentous significance that while our learned theologians are contending with microscopical erudition whether a passage in the Mosaic books had two or three or four editors, or was after all from Moses himself, forty to sixty per cent of all the children born in the city of the theologians—yes, in this twentieth century, in the Protestant city of schools and Bibles and universities; in that city of the preachers and churches—forty to sixty per cent of all the children born are illegitimate! Might not the Christ say to the contending theologians and to the preachers, “Ye tithe mint and anise, but forget the weightier matters—justice, mercy, judgment”? God is probably as much interested in the social and moral conditions which led that girl to throw herself into the Pleiss a few weeks ago as he is in the origin of the Hebrew vowel points. What is the moral influence of a standing army? What does Christianity have to say of war and of the war spirit? These are questions of immense spiritual and moral significance. Is it not a remarkable thing that while the book of Judges is explained in Hebrew and the book of Philippians in Greek in many lectures—and this is well—while the relative parts of Luther and Melancthon in the Augsburg Confession are fully indicated, and Christ’s descent into Hades

argued for or against, no lectures are given on the temperance question, its scientific and practical side, and none on the work of the Church in rescuing the fallen?

It seems, therefore, that theological education is at fault not in the over-emphasis of theology, but in the under-emphasis of sociology and morals. And it is one of the noblest and truest attainments of German theology that it has always insisted on ethics as a part of its field, and in Rothe's great book has erected an enduring monument in this department; and we say this in spite of any difference of view as to the theological and ethical principles which govern its treatment. We believe our American schools will more and more meet the needs of the age in this particular. It must be remembered, however, that the curriculum in the United States is founded on the supposition of the previous education of the students in college, where many of these social and economical, and even moral, questions are canvassed. Though this is true, we must believe that the Church will come to feel that on some of these questions it cannot afford to leave the minister with the last word from the college professor. In some schools that professor may not be allowed to speak with the positive convictions of a Christian man, even if he have those convictions. But in the theological seminary, if anywhere, Christ ought to come to his rights, as well in sociology as in theology.

3. Much discussion has taken place concerning the supposed unscientific character of theological teaching on account of the fact of the denominational relation of the seminary. Some have gone so far as to say that unless the professors have absolute freedom their instructions are worthless. There is no doubt much to sympathize with on the side of these objections. History has shown that at times the theological school both in Europe and America has been on the side of reactionary and tyrannical principles both in politics and theology. Anyone who has eyes to see, however, can readily perceive that to-day the tendency is not in that direction. On this whole question a few things may be said.

(1) It is a healthy instinct which holds a man to a stricter responsibility for his public or official acts than is the case with his private relations. However much a physician may be devoted to a pet theory of disease or of cure, until that theory has been thoroughly tested we do not care to have him experiment on our sick child. In that official capacity any physician at once recognizes his responsibility.

(2) A certain reverence and reserve is expected from the teacher before the immature minds of students, who may not be able to coordinate the new truth with the old. Let the teacher be first of all a true pedagogue.

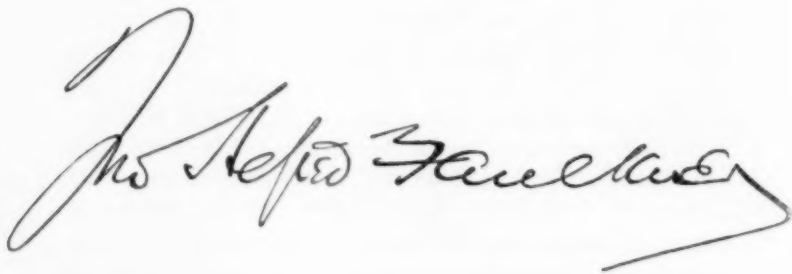
(3) A public teacher is limited, consciously or unconsciously, by public sentiment, national laws and customs, political principles—the whole atmosphere in which he is brought up. There are bonds which hold him, invisible but strong as steel. An instance of this is the influence of the German lottery on the professors of political economy, though here other influences are at work, as the higher moral attitude toward the lottery of some other lands. This limitation is the same in kind and sometimes stronger in degree than that of Church creeds, and yet no one objects to it.

(4) The theological schools did not make the Church, but the Church made the schools, and theoretically at least has the right to impose on them whatever conditions it chooses. We do not press this, but at least it is fair to remember that the schools are a part of the machinery by which the Church does its work in the world, and it is as responsible for that part of its work as for any other. There is not a theological school in the world which was founded by some man of wealth for the sake of freedom of research and the exploitation of new views, but each one is the outgrowth of a Church at whose root were definite theological facts and doctrines. This brings up the other fact—the history of the modern Church. We may prefer the consolidated ecclesiasticism of the Middle Ages, or the dissolution of all Churches into a general loose vagueness of irresponsible societies, but we cannot get ourselves out of the evolution of history. If God

has been in this history we may suppose that modern denominationalism has served—however imperfectly through excess or defect—the interests of his kingdom. At any rate here are the modern Churches, all of them built up by godly men on doctrinal principles as dear to them as life. These principles are the very warp and woof of these Churches; they have made them. What are they? First, sin; its universality and its damnable nature in this world and all worlds. Second, the revelation of God in the Scripture, in history, and in the heart of man. Third, the Saviour, eternal Son of God. Fourth, repentance, faith, and the means of grace. Fifth, the goal—a regenerated humanity, a saved society, a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. Now it is impossible to think of the modern Churches without appealing to these principles or facts. If history has shown any increase in the world of knowledge, of truth, of love; if the Church has been a saving force in civilization, what of salvation, what of joy or hope, what of new life and strength to myriad souls—all this has been because in the Church's heart of hearts these principles have been enshrined—they have been her lifeblood. We cannot, therefore, from this historical view, blame the Churches for insisting that their schools be faithful to the substance of truth which has given the Church both her being and her reason for being.

(5) But along with this, two principles are always at work which modify any overemphasis of the theological *status quo*. First, the Scripture as the only rule of faith, and, second, the right of private judgment. The first is always working to the correction or deepening or spiritualizing and ethicizing of the creeds, and the second is always working toward the emancipation of the mind from the bondage of creeds. There is the right use of creeds as norms and guides and records, and there is the wrong use of them as fetters. Protestantism has within her the correction of their wrong use by the two formal principles of the Reformation: the right of private judgment, and the Scripture as the only rule of faith.

For this reason these two historical currents have flowed along side by side in the Church—the intellectual and missionary activity prompted by the truth held, and the liberalizing and fructifying influence of the other fact, that in the highest sense neither Church nor creed is truth, but Christ alone. I think therefore that the Church is not open to too severe denunciation as to this aspect of theological education. I might illustrate it thus: We know the rancor, fully equal to anything in Church history, which has attended the conflicts of the allopathic and homeopathic schools of medicine. Each school has founded its own colleges. Now we might suppose that all progress is stopped in medical science—the two schools sitting jealously guarding their principles, and justly requiring of their professors general conformity to them. But along with this is the devotion to science and truth on the part of both, and the unconquerable impulse of the mind into new territories of knowledge. This has brought it about that both schools have adopted principles and facts in common and others of which their founders never dreamed. So it is with theological education in America. Never was there seen in finer union devotion to the old truth which has made the Christian world, and the disposition to allow all possible freedom to men who, while they tear down error, yet build for God and his Christ and his world in a way at once large-minded and reverential.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "J. Alfred Saunders". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

ART. VII.—EMILE ZOLA AS A WRITER.

IN the spring of 1877 there appeared in France a novel which created a sensation no less profound than that caused by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in America many years ago. In a short time seventy editions had been exhausted, and the critics fought battles over it, some praising, others censuring. In the *salons* it was the principal subject of conversation for months, and the language of the boulevards became impregnated with its characteristic expressions. The greater part of the public, including the clergy, sided against the author, claiming that his portrayals were exaggerated. Since the appearance of *L'Assommoir* Zola has been constantly before the reading public, and his novels, which were issued at regular intervals, have been widely read, not only by the French, but they have also been translated into the principal European languages. An author who has been able to hold the attention of the literary world uninterruptedly for more than a quarter of a century must certainly be a man of more than ordinary ability.

Zola's youth was spent in Paris in abject poverty. In the great metropolis, whither he had come to achieve literary success, he passed years of self-denial and hardship. He was too poor to purchase the fuel in winter necessary to warm his lonely room under the mansard roof. Instead of wood he would buy a candle, put on an extra garment and sit up during the long winter evenings, composing verses and short stories, the first fruits of his pen. His education was deficient, as he had been obliged to leave the *lycée* in consequence of the death of his father. The lack of thorough mental training is manifest throughout his writings, especially in his style, which is ordinary. But if his education was deficient in scholastic training, his knowledge of men, which he acquired during those years of apprenticeship spent among the lower classes, was most intimate, as he has demonstrated in his novels. During that period of hardship he had an

excellent opportunity to study the social conditions of the various classes of people forming the lower social strata of the great metropolis. The knowledge thus gained he utilized in the novels forming the Rougon-Macquart cycle, in which he undertook to portray society as he had found it during the latter part of the Second Empire. With this object he incorporated another purpose, namely, to verify his theory of heredity and to show how the law operates in the history of two families. On the one hand we behold the Rougon rising step by step and surrounded by ease, luxury, and the best society; on the other we follow the Macquart on the down grade, as they sink lower and lower in vice and degradation. We are no longer walking on the soft carpets of the drawing-room, but in the slums. The author has raised the curtain that hid from the view of the casual observer the abyss along the edge of which metropolitan life pulsates. The night scenes which he unfolds are not those of the fashionable *café* or of the gilded *salon* frequented by the *jeunesse dorée*, where Parisian life is seen in all its conventionality. We pass by the Elysian Fields, the New Opera, and the *Italien*, with their fashionable revelry, and, turning our backs upon the stately boulevards, enter the quarters of the working classes lying along the *Barrière*. The midday splendor of the broad avenues fades from our sight, and we enter a region gloomy and dreary in the extreme because of the contrast. Here the streets are narrow and miry, and the tenement houses high and dismal. In these haunts sanitation is unheard of and diseases are endemic. Vice and misery stare us in the face on every hand. We are surrounded by poverty and degradation, the aspect of which is sickening. We follow the author into wine shops of the lowest order, where carousing and debauchery are seen in their most shocking phases. Everywhere there loom up beastly beings in human form, whose lives are consumed by the fires of inordinate appetite. Groans of distress strike our ears as we walk by the overcrowded dwellings. They come from ill-treated wives and neglected children, whose husbands and fathers are spending their

earnings at the adjacent haunts, where the devotees of Bacchus are wallowing in the mire of sensuality. We are even introduced into the hospital, where the heartrending cries of the poor maniac, made so through strong drink, make every fiber of our being vibrate. We would tear ourselves away, but we cannot. The author holds us spellbound. Zola is inexorable. He does not even spare us the last tour of poor Gervaise along the outer boulevards in the drizzling snow, begging in piteous tones for a morsel of bread, "*Monsieur, écoutez donc!*" nor the death scene of the wretched woman as she lies forsaken in her den in the midst of filth, without fire, in midwinter. Such is the tragical sequel of several of the novels intended to illustrate the degeneracy of a family under the Second Empire.

Because of these realistic descriptions of life among the lower classes the author has been severely criticised. His books have been termed depositories of filth and antagonistic to morality. That many of his novels outrage the æsthetic feeling cannot be denied, but whether they have an immoral tendency is a question on which critics do not agree. One thing is certain: there is nothing attractive or alluring in Zola's delineations of vice. On the contrary, his aim is evidently to make it hideous and repulsive. It would seem that the really dangerous books are those that throw a charm around vice. This Zola never does, thus differing from many modern writers who have handled similar subjects, but have been careful to do it with kid gloves. Zola always calls things by their true names and never leaves the readers in doubt as to his purpose, which is evidently reformatory. He performs the part of a moral anatomist, not of a painter. The purpose of the latter is to please. This consideration does not enter into the work of the former. The surgeon's knife must at times be inexorable when health or life hinges on its proper use. That Zola in more than one of his novels has performed the unpleasant task of the surgeon only accrues to his credit. He was a man of great moral courage, always true to his convictions, as was evident in his courageous defense of Dreyfus.

His "*J'accuse*" was uttered in tones of conviction so deep and loud that they thrilled the world and caused all France to tremble with apprehension. A man who had the courage to oppose a nation and to turn the current of public sentiment at a time when that nation was like a seething caldron, cannot rightfully be accused of sinister motives in portraying life among the proletariat as he had witnessed it.

We do not wish to pose as a defender of naturalism, a form of literature not at all to our liking. But our tastes shall not prevent us from doing justice to a man who has often been misjudged by the public and outraged by the critics. Zola never hankered after popularity. If renown came to him, it was not because he sought it. He did not stoop to conquer. On the contrary, his books made many enemies. In fact, he was for a number of years the best hated man in France. In the very first novel which gave him more than local reputation he outraged the pride of the Parisians by his unmerciful strictures on the social conditions among the laboring classes of the capital. In *Lourdes* and *Rome* he exposed the abuses of the Roman Church, thereby provoking the enmity of the clergy. He lost the good will of the rural population by the realistic portrayals of the groveling and covetous character of the tillers of the soil. One of the best, but at the same time one of the most unpopular of his novels, is *La Débâcle*, in which he describes the unfortunate campaign of the Franco-Prussian war, which ended in the defeat of the proud French army and its surrender near Sedan. This bold thrust pierced the heart of the French nation. It was a blow that the army will never forgive him. The aristocratic circles were offended at the exposures of the rottenness of certain strata of Parisian society. Thus he made enemies everywhere; but in spite of the criticisms launched at him he continued the even tenor of his way, and the public continued to read his books.

That Zola in the portrayal of vice has often transgressed the limits of artistic necessity, and that his delineations of society are one-sided and in some instances misleading, can-

not be denied. This is partly due to his early impressions, which seem to have been daguerreotyped on his soul, partly to his literary dogma that the real is as fit a subject for portrayal in literature as the ideal; but most of all to his theory of heredity, which he developed into what he calls a scientific method. The latter has been unduly upheld by his followers as the only true guide of the novelist. However, Zola himself has not applied his method rigidly in composing the Rougon-Macquart cycle, parts of which are strung together very loosely. In fact, it is difficult to see in what way some of the novels of the series illustrate his theory. Psychologically his law of heredity is untenable. Nor does experience uphold it to any great extent. Children do not by any means always inherit the virtues, vices, or proclivities of their parents. The "law" also ignores the free will of man, thus degrading him to a mere automaton or to a creature of destiny. Hence we behold the heroes of Zola's novels struggle with the demons of inborn vices, but the contest is always unequal and proves fatal to them. Though they stand their ground firmly for a while, the temptation thrown about them always prove too strong and the drama generally ends as a tragedy. Human souls lying helpless in the clutches of their appetites, sinking lower and lower in degradation, and finally, after repeated efforts to break the fetters of their slavery, giving way to despair—that is the sequel of the realistic novel illustrating the "law of heredity," the lesson which the author intends to teach his readers. That Zola is, however, not a pessimist in the strict sense of the term, and that he is not given exclusively to the portrayal of the dark in humanity, is proved by several of his books, such as *La Rêve*. Had more of his productions been of like character his fame would have been brighter and there would be less cause for adverse criticism.

It were useless to venture an opinion as to how long Zola's renown will endure. In point of merit his novels differ very much. Some fall below mediocrity, whereas others abound in masterly sketches of character and events. In style they

are all more or less deficient, lacking the classic purity of some of his less-renowned contemporaries. This defect is not due to carelessness in composition—Zola was a very careful writer—but to a lack of refined taste. However, to this very defect his popularity among the uneducated classes is partly due. He is master of the Parisian *argot* and uses it with perfect ease. This makes his books somewhat difficult reading for foreigners. Furthermore, his novels are deficient in invention, in consequence of which they are characterized by a certain uniformity and repetition. Zola depicts men and scenes that have actually come under his observation. He cannot invent them like his great prototype, Balzac. The latter was extremely prodigal with his characters, whereas Zola was very economical with the use of material at his disposal. He utilizes it again and again, but so skillfully that only the careful reader notices the repetition. After all, his world is a narrow one. His mind lacks breadth and cosmopolitan sweep; therefore, his novels are not likely to become a part of the world's literature. Being mostly portrayals of certain types and classes of French society, their interest is confined within comparatively narrow limits. They are not universally human, affecting mankind in general apart from time, place, and provincial or national relations, thus differing essentially from the creations of such masters as Shakespeare, Cervantes, George Eliot, and Goethe.

Victor Wilker

ART. VIII.—THE ARGUMENT FROM EXPERIENCE.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE says, if anyone wants to know the truth of the Christian religion, let him "*try it.*" It says the same for itself. From the beginning the irrepealable challenge to all has been, "Try me; carry out with fairness my directions for the ends purposed, covering every spiritual want of man, and I agree to abide by the result." "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." Herein our Lord fixed a basis of judgment accessible to everyone, and whose relevancy and demonstrative sufficiency are not open to rational objection. This invitation to test Christianity by experiment, such as we use, and are compelled to use, not only in arriving at certainty in scientific knowledge, but in the practical affairs of everyday life, is, as its whole history proves, more likely to influence the mass of men to give Christianity favorable consideration than any merely theoretical presentation. Scholarly disquisitions and philosophical discussions in behalf of Christian truth have a vindicative and elucidative value beyond estimate. But they are for the few rather than the many. "Experimentals," one has said, "are the tests of Christianity, and not those things which are dogmatic, historic, and philosophic in the ordinary sense of the term. . . . The logic by which it is tested is in the heart." With the average man it is "the witness in himself," promised by Christianity as its unfailing and satisfying credential to him "that believeth on the Son of God," that sweeps away doubt and becomes an immovable foundation for faith. This witness is no less needed by the profoundest scholar than by the plainest rustic, and will be worth as much to him as to the other. Such considerations as the following apply as illustrations and confirmations to the argument for Christianity drawn from experience.

1. It is a test which everyone can use; one, too, whose significance and sufficiency in justifying a restful faith in

that to which it relates are sanctioned by its frequent, it might almost be said, habitual use in matters of moment, and at which neither the conscience nor intelligence can justly revolt. If Christianity, or the Church, representing it, said to men, "You must study a system of doctrine; you must take time, and exercise diligence and care, in penetrating the deep mysteries of faith; you must culture yourselves so as to interpret sacramental symbols and ritualistic ceremonies, and thus be led to an appreciation of me and to hearty submission to me," a standard would be created that would repel rather than attract; a mode of testing Christianity would be imposed that would at once, and properly, be pronounced oppressive, indeed, impracticable for men limited and crowded as they are in this busy world. And the making such a test would be strong *prima facie* reason for suspecting the system or advocate instituting it. But when Christianity says to all, learned and unlearned, "Take my recommendations, few and simple, intelligible to all, and prove me by trying their suitability to your life within and life without; prove me by testing their power to meet all the cravings of your spiritual nature, and to carry you through all the temptations and vicissitudes of being here; verify my promises by bringing them to bear upon your condition as it relates you to God and to man, to time, and the grave, and eternity," it proposes a method of vindication, it submits to an evidential test, which is inherently equitable and available by all. Men everywhere, and in every condition, sinful, tempted, burdened, disappointed in hope, tortured with anxieties, weak to helplessness for duty or conflict or grasp of God, can come to Jesus, and see whether he is what he declares himself to be, a saviour, comforter, helper, a giver of peace, an inspirer of hope, the creator of a new, even a divine, life within, that reflects itself more and more in the visible life before the world. His own words of assured welcome and immeasurable blessing, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," they can take and prove.

2. As it concerns Christianity this practical test has been

used by many to their satisfaction. So far from being a new thing, brought to light to save a falling and failing system, it is as old as Christianity itself. Through all the centuries, by the first convert and the last, it has been used, and always with the same result. The "we know" of the New Testament is without exception associated with it, is directly traceable to it. An experience is always behind and underneath the positive and joyous declarations of faith and hope in Christ in which the New Testament abounds, an experience having its inception in a personal coming to Christ and seeing what there was in him, and what he could do for him who came. And so it has ever been. As the first disciples could say so disciples still can say, "We know whom we have believed." We know because we have believed; we believe because, taking Christ on his own terms, we found enough to warrant belief. But not only is there concurrent testimony on the part of Christians of all the ages in regard to the reliability of this experimental test, there is also the remarkable fact that none have ever come forward as witnesses to its failure. There are none to contradict the testimony Christians give. "All which the stiffest unbeliever can allege against them is that he himself has no such consciousness, or has found no such discovery verified to his particular experience. They testify, on their part, with one voice, to a truth positive, and the whole opposing world can offer nothing, on its part, against their testimony, but the simple negative fact of having in themselves no such experience." Men have rejected our religion as insufficiently accredited by its professed miracles. They have denied its prophecies all supernatural prevision. Scouting its claims as a divine revelation, they have intensely opposed it with pen and tongue. They have predicted its overthrow in the march of civilization, and have done all in their power to fulfill their predictions. But no one among all its enemies has ever professed to have tried its methods for bringing peace to the soul, for giving victory over sin, comfort in trouble, and confidence in prospect of death, and found those methods a cheat. History reports no such case.

If there were a case we may be sure history would long since have reported it.

Further, many of those who have experimentally proved Christianity are men whose names are immortal for their learning, culture, and virtue, not open to suspicion as superstitious devotees or unthinking enthusiasts. The ripest scholars, the greatest thinkers, the noblest philanthropists of nineteen centuries—the best of earth in all senses—come, “a vast cloud of witnesses, testifying . . . to the reality of a supernatural grace, which is the root and power of all their works, and the hidden spring of their unspeakable joys.” There is no break in the harmony of their confession, “We have found Christ an all-sufficient saviour, a true comforter, ‘God forbid that we should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.’” Strike from the roll of the world’s worthies the names of its Christian confessors, and in what is left the depreciation in quality is even worse than in quantity. Now put these facts together: the practical test which Christianity offers is as old as Christianity itself; unnumbered millions have used it to their satisfaction; no one has ever appeared to say, “I have tried it, and it failed;” the brightest ornaments of our race in literature, in science, in religion, possessing every quality that makes testimony credible, belong to and form no inconsiderable part of this army of witnesses; and is there not demonstration of the reliability of the test, and obligation put upon all to use it for themselves?

3. While the argument from experience is at command, but is not availed of, can anything less become an honest, self-respecting mind than to deride or deny the saving power of the Gospel? Always a practical test being possible, no adverse judgment should be formed, much more pronounced, until it is tried. When an astronomer announces a new planet in a designated part of the heavens, the cry of impossible, or even improbable, is not to be raised until science has brought to bear its settled principles and instruments in determining the case. A practical test is at command; there

should be no final or positive decision until that is heard from. Ignorance cannot contradict knowledge, and when it ventures to oppose knowledge, it is impertinence. We apply to Christianity the principle thus illustrated. We claim the benefit of it for Christ and his Gospel. A practical test in determining the verity and value of the Gospel of Jesus is desirable. Undoubtedly. Indeed, from the nature of the case it is indispensable. Is there such a test? We say, Yes, one easily adjustable, universally applicable, and upon its holding out, when fairly used, we are willing to stake the credibility of the Gospel. We go farther, and say, show one failure, where Christ was untrue to his promises to sinful, sorrowing, seeking souls, or was unequal to any work of saving, comforting, blessing, to which he has pledged himself, and we will confess ourselves mistaken, duped. For one such failure is as bad for Christianity as ten thousand failures. But until the test is applied, until, in compliance with its arrangement for meeting the largest evidential demand which consciousness can assert, Christianity is put to the proof, it is folly most shameful, absurdity most extravagant, presumption unparalleled, inconsistency most shallow, for any to talk of the insufficiency of its evidence, or to treat it with indignity. To all so disposed, whether they be cultured scientists, or superficial, foul-mouthed scoffers, may we not say, "Gentlemen, you are not prepared to give a verdict; '*try it*,' and then you may be entitled to a hearing"?

4. If the experimental test holds out, certitude is obtained that admits no appeal and defies contradiction.

"Seeing is believing" has passed into a proverb. We thereby indicate the general reliability of our senses. We assume—nor can we do otherwise than assume—that God intended them, when normally sound, to be trustworthy. Seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, touching, we feel warranted in assuring ourselves of certainty of knowledge, such as justifies positive mental determinations, which lead us to seek or to shun, to accept or reject, that to which they pertain. If through sight we are made aware of an object, of its near-

ness or remoteness, of its shape, we say we know it is there, we know it is nearer or more remote than another object, we know it is round or square. Seeing, we believe. Now, what the eye is to the body, consciousness is to the soul. It discerns and discloses with unerring precision the great facts of moral condition in the heart of man. No change can transpire there without its detection and a simultaneous and truthful report by its voice. I am conscious that I am happy or miserable, hopeful or despairing, honorable or base, true or false, that I love or hate, that guilt dismays and weakens me, or innocence emboldens and gladdens me. Consciousness never misleads, never reports falsely, never mistakes. Its facts "are the most certain of all facts. The objects which consciousness presents are, if possible, more real and better attested than the objects of sense. We can question whether the eye and the ear do not deceive us; whether the sights which we see and the sounds which we hear are not illusions; . . . but we cannot doubt whether we perform the acts of seeing and hearing. . . . We may doubt whether this or that object be a reality or a phantom, but we cannot doubt that we doubt. Nothing in the universe is so certain, and deserves so well to be trusted, as the psychical phenomena of which each man is conscious." What I am conscious of being in feeling, thought, purpose, hope, I am. If I am conscious of any modification of mental perceptions, emotions, choices, the modification must have taken place. Whatever phenomena consciousness witnesses to must be real phenomena of the soul. The work of moral reconstruction which Christianity undertakes for everyone who gives his consent brings it, in all its stages, within the domain of consciousness. It is a work, too, which as a simply suggested possibility is singly connected with Christianity. As Bushnell says, its "subjects themselves can nowise account for the change, except by the supposition of a divine agency in them, superior to the laws of natural development, and also to any force of will they could exert on their own dispositions and the moral habit of their previous life." "A new man, which after God is created

in righteousness and true holiness," sets forth its process and product. Submission to Christ issues in "a new creation: the old things are passed away: behold, they are become new." That all this, the work done in connection with the agency through which done, should be without the attestation of consciousness is controverted by what we know of its assigned functions and of the facts of its operation within ourselves. Now, when with candor and consistency I meet the conditions of Christianity, and find that it is true to itself and true to me; when it liberates from the bondage of sin and brings me consciously into a filial relation to God; when it blesses me with harmony within, with a hallowed peace, with a purified and purifying love, with power to endure "as seeing Him who is invisible," with a strong and steadfast hope of eternal life; when I find that at no point is there failure, that all my wants are met in Him who appears to me as "the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth"—what else can I do as a reasonable, truth-loving, consistent man, than bow before him, who himself is Christianity, and adoringly say, "Verily thou art the Son of God"? The strongest evidence by which truth or fact can be ratified I have—the evidence of my consciousness, evidence unassailable, unimprovable, indubitable. An argument for Christ and his Gospel do I want? I have it in myself when I receive Jesus and am received by him. I have it in the unearthly experience which enables me to say, "One thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see."

5. If experience confirms the truth of Christianity as to what it promises in this life, may we not assure ourselves that all else it promises for the life to come will be realized? If it does not fail now, is not that fact a warrant for faith that it will not fail then? Faith is not more taxed in accepting the teaching of Christianity concerning what it will do for the saved sinner hereafter, than it is in accepting what Christ undertakes for the unsaved sinner here; belief of the one presents no more difficulties to reason than does belief of the other; nor are larger resources of power required to fulfill

the pledges of the Gospel for the future life than are demanded to make good those which have to do with this life. If, as the Gospel assumes, and as results attest, divine power is called for and is given in the latter case, it answers all objections and becomes a solid ground for faith and hope in the other, because it can be no less available and effective then than now. If Christ proves himself trustworthy now in all he tells me about myself as a sinner and himself as a Saviour, coming short in none of the work of spiritual disenchantment and satisfaction of the soul's deepest wants to which he commits himself, he proves himself trustworthy in all he proclaims and promises about all being in all worlds, and in all duration. The experimental evidence that commands my confidence in him as redeemer, teacher, guide, and comforter for time, carries with it both obligation to trust him, and sense of perfect safety in trusting him, forever. To be consistent I must take into my faith all his revelation of the future with the same satisfied feeling of certainty and joy of hope assured that follow acceptance of him as the light and life of my soul amid the shadows of earth. The record is one. The promises for both worlds are backed by the same authority. Part cannot be fiction or dream, and part truth and reality. The experimental verification of the part which has to do with life on this side the grave demands confidence in that which relates to destiny on the other side. The faithfulness and power which can be trusted to save a sinner in this world can be trusted to secure all that is promised to him in the next. The first breakdown, if one happen, will be here, not there.

As to objections brought against the argument from experience, but one, the most common, and supposed to be the most forcible, need be noticed. The weight and worth of the argument are impugned because, as alleged, it rests mainly, if not wholly, upon the feelings. As a deduction from the emotional nature its reliability is disputed. Grant the premise, and does the conclusion follow? We answer, no, and for the reason, if for no other, that it proves too much. What

has been remarked upon consciousness goes far to silence the objection. But, if valid, it applies to every kind of experience, for all experience involves feeling. Then, too, the feelings, when they assert themselves, become facts, and it is as legitimate to build an argument upon them as to matters upon which they have a bearing, as upon any class of facts. The emotional is as real a part of us as the intellectual, the moral, or the physical, and is as generally reliable. That we may err in deductions from it is not denied; but so may we in deductions from mental manifestations, or physical. The whole history of science shows false interpretations of nature. But do we therefore disbelieve nature and all science? Has too implicit reliance on the senses never led to trouble? "The liability to deception," as has been said, "only proves that man is not infallible, not that his faculties are not to be trusted." It may be added, that in Christian experience there is special divine provision for its verification in the cooperative and corroborative witness of the Holy Spirit with that of the human spirit or consciousness. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God."

The argument from experience can never wear out or become obsolete. It has always been made the most of when the Church was aiming to measure up to the highest New Testament ideals; its depreciation and decline have always been attended by the decay of spiritual vitality and aggressive movements on the world. It has been conspicuous among the causal forces of all the genuine and abiding great religious awakenings of our era, and in the unrivaled Wesleyan revival of the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth it was a chief contributing agency. Manifest tendencies of our times to a freezing formalism, to a dead faith that is hardly better than unbelief, to a stereotyped, emotionless legalism, or to mere æsthetic proprieties and ritualistic routine in the name of religion as enough to make us good Christians and acceptable church members, emphasize the importance of having attention

anew called to it. It is a remark of John Stuart Blackie that the early Church "worked by a fervid moral contagion, not by the suasion of cool argument," and that "the Christian method of conversion, not by logical arguments, but by moral contagion and the effusion of the Holy Ghost, has, with the masses of mankind, always proved itself the most effective." But this moral contagion, with its specified accompaniment, has no explanation, indeed is inconceivable, apart from the experience the early Christians had of the transforming efficacy of the Gospel in their hearts and lives, accepted by them as the indisputable proof of its divinity. It must always be so. If, for enlarged effectiveness, the Church is called in any measure to return to first principles, can it do better than begin here? Has it not been a loser, we will not say by surrendering, but by loosening its hold upon, this approved instrumentality of a converting ministry and conquering Church? May we not learn from our fathers? It was the element of personal experience they wove into their preaching and testimonies, which was "as a burning fire shut up in their bones," so that "they were weary with forbearing, and they could not stay," that more than anything else, except the help of the inspiring, energizing Spirit, made them the men of power they were. And the incontrovertible teaching of the centuries is, that when saved men and women, like Paul in Corinth, are so "pressed in spirit" that they "cannot but speak the things they have seen and heard," people will hear and something will happen.

W. S. Edwards.

ART. IX.—THE PRIMITIVE RELIGION OF MANKIND.

ONE of the burning questions in the science of religion is, "What was the primitive religion of man?" This is as it should be. The nature of any mental phenomenon can be fully known only when its origin has been traced and inmost springs laid bare. But to reach the beginnings in any science is difficult, if not impossible. The human race has no more recollection of its own origin than a child has of its own birth. The historical traditions of humanity do not reach back anywhere near to the primitive ages. History knows of founders of religions, but these have always been connected by a thousand bonds to religions that previously existed. The religious documents of even the ancient Chaldeans, Egyptians, Chinese, Vedic Indians—documents which are older than any individual founders of religions of whom we know anything—all show us religion as something already existing in full bloom and not as just emerging. Thus, in any attempt to reach the truth on this subject we must try to combine philosophical with historical inquiry. That theory will come nearest to the solution of the problem of the primitive religion of man which both possesses the highest degree of psychological probability and at the same time best explains the assured facts of religious history.

One of the favorite hypotheses of our time is that of the Darwinian evolutionist. Not able to appeal to well-authenticated historical facts, and prompted by the apparent exigencies of his theory, he has looked about him to discover, if possible, in the present, some hints that can tell him of the primitive past. Fixing his eyes upon savage hordes that still exist, he says, "Ah! here is what I want!" Then, since the religion of a people may naturally be expected to correspond to the general level of its culture, the first religion, he assured us, was fetichism, deification of corpses, belief in ghosts, or in spirits of fountains, rivers, trees, winds, waves, sticks, stones, rubbish, also of animals, now of the earthly fire of the

hearth, then of the heavenly fire, then of the storm, and, finally, the sun, moon, stars, and the overarching heaven embracing all. Thence the progress was easy to polytheism, and finally to ethical monotheism. David Hume anticipated this modern notion of the primitive savagery of man. In his *Natural History of Religion*, with a strange mixture of logic and sophistry, he tries to prove that men as barbarous animals necessarily began with polytheism. It has been defended by such writers as Lubbock, Tylor, Peschel, Tiele, Letourneau, Darwin, Spencer, Caspari, etc. One of the most recent works of this school was published in 1897 by Grant Allen on *The Evolution of the Idea of God*. This would be a startling kind of book had not the world been treated to so many similar specimens. It traces religion back to ghost worship, or, rather, to the actual worship of the very corpse itself and acts of deference to the bodies of the dead.

Now these theories would certainly be sufficiently startling if true. Did the greatest moral power in history, all that is most thrilling in human affairs, spring, then, from so humble a root? "The sublime devotion of the martyr, the cheerful endurance of affliction, the pouring out treasures of charity at the feet of suffering man, the sacred yearning of the soul for the infinite, the deep thoughts of such men as Paul, Augustine, Pascal, the rapture of the soul upborne above all transient things, aspiration after the ideal, heart sorrow for sin, tears that will not be dried, the craving for pardon and righteousness—all this and more the result of the wild dream of a savage bewildered with the hunting feast, a ghost story, or acts of deference to a corpse!" Certainly the disproportion between the fact and its explanation is wonderful enough. But the theory is not therefore false. The disproportion is no greater than between the primal germ of a Shakespeare or a Paul and the fully developed man. The humble nature of the root is nothing against the glory of the tree. There is no reason for panic in the Christian camp. Religion has been what it has been and is what it is, whatever its original germ. The sole question is, "Is the explanation true?"

This entire mode of treatment rests upon two assumptions which never have been proved and which no serious attempt is made to prove. They are simply taken for granted. But until they are proved they ought certainly to play a humbler part in the discussion, for though hypotheses are permissible as furnishing possible explanations of known facts they ought not to be assumed as themselves facts and then made regulative of the whole treatment, as though they had been clearly demonstrated. These two assumptions are that man began his career in a savage, almost brutal, condition, and that the savages of to-day are survivals, and more or less perfect types, of primitive man.

Both are due to the supposed exigencies of the Darwinian hypothesis. The consistent transformist seems to think himself compelled, in the interest of his theory of evolution, to place the primitive man as near to the level of the brute as he can, so as to make him almost entirely nontheistic, if not utterly nonreligious. Many of the school do make man begin not with intelligent ignorance but in brutish, sensuous stupidity. Here again there is no reason for hysteria on the part of Christians. The vital question is less the beginnings and the process than the product and the prospect. What though man were cradled with the ape if he may reign with the angels? What if he began with hate, lust, and the dominance of brute instincts if he can rise into Christlike beauty of character and enjoy filial fellowship with God? We can well afford to possess our souls in peace and patience while we calmly ask, "Are these theories supported by facts and reasons?" We believe they are supported by neither.

Not to speak of many scientific objections which have not yet been satisfactorily answered as to the transformist hypothesis in general, but which do not directly concern us here, there is a question too often ignored by this school. Shall we as theists or as atheists view this process? Huxley may be right in saying that the doctrine of evolution is in itself neither theistic nor atheistic; that it has no more to do with theism than Euclid has. But the man who thinks upon the

process must himself hold some attitude toward theism. Is the evolution purely mechanical? Does it in some inexplicable fashion carry on itself? Or is a living God immanent in it? Certainly with reference to the origin of religion this question cannot be thrust aside, for as Schelling profoundly said, "Every religion needs two factors, namely, both man and God." But by many of these theorists all religions, including Christianity, are treated as though they were nothing but psychological products of the man himself, originated and developed by purely natural causes without any presence of a living, personal God corresponding to the consciousness of man and active in human affairs. Thus their discussions as to the origin and development of religion deal with nothing but the subjective notions about God or gods. Whether there is any objective truth corresponding to these subjective notions is either slurred over as a matter of indifference or the objective reality is without a word of proof denied outright. The Christian theist, however, whatever his views of evolution, holds fast to his faith in the living, immanent, personal God. Could that brutelike creature which the evolutionist delights to picture make himself in some way into a human being? Could he develop those powers within himself? That evidently implies a capacity to develop the capacity, and so on *ad infinitum*. But in the capacity for reason, speech, morality, religion, consists the very nature of man, and he cannot therefore exist without his nature, that is, his capacities entering into some degree of activity. Thus at the very beginning, in the very simplest, most fundamental form of his existence, man is heaven-high above the brute. Moreover, if in that capacity of man for reason, speech, morality, religion, there did not lie some inextinguishable secret relation to his goal would the wheel ever have begun to roll forward toward it? Do stones make any start toward becoming roses, or cabbages begin to advance toward becoming horses? All this means that man did not begin his career as beast but as man. This is what Humboldt meant when he said, "Man is man only because he speaks, but he could not have spoken

if he had not been already man." Similarly, Sydney Smith, in one of his odd utterances which often embody profound truth, remarks, "I feel myself so much at ease about the superiority of mankind; have such a decided contempt for the understanding of every baboon I have ever seen; I feel so sure that the blue ape without a tail will never rival us in poetry, painting, and music, that I see no reason whatever that justice may not be done to the few fragments of soul and tatters of understanding he may possess.

Nor does the doctrine of evolution, after all, soberly taken, require that its adherents should believe in a bestial condition of primitive man. Huxley himself, in trying to prove that the anatomical differences between the human frame and the chimpanzee are not such, either in kind or degree, as to justify a wide distinction, yet confesses that if in defining man we take into account the phenomena of mind there is between man and those beasts which are nearest to him in anatomy a difference so wide that it cannot be measured, "an enormous gulf," "a divergence immeasurable," and "practically infinite." So Drummond, in spite of his reiterations about the savage, brutelike condition of primitive man, seems at times to agree with Huxley. He says that no serious thinker, on whichever side of the controversy, has succeeded in lessening to his own mind the infinite distance between the mind of man and everything else in nature; speaks of the ascent as gradual or, what is more likely, rhythmical by a series of pulses; and in another place illustrates the possibility of such leaps by taking us to the arctic regions where there is in the winter no such thing as liquid. The temperature might be thirty-one degrees above zero or thirty-one below, without making any difference in the aspect of the country. All is ice and snow. But suppose the temperature to rise a few degrees higher than thirty-one above zero. What a contrast! While a rise of sixty degrees had made no appreciable difference in the aspect of things a slight difference of temperature higher than thirty-one above zero transforms a world of ice into a world of water. So, says

the author, apparently borrowing from Cope, in the animal world may a very small rise beyond the maximum of brain open the door for a revolution, "the passing of some Rubicon, the opening of some flood gate which marks one of nature's great transitions." Facts are not wanting to warrant this illustration. Huxley, on the authority of Schaafhausen, tells us that some Hindu skulls have as small a capacity as forty-six cubic inches, while the largest gorilla yet measured contained upward of thirty-five. But the difference between that Hindu skull and the largest European one is not less than sixty-eight cubic inches. Yet nature has said that the difference of eleven cubic inches between the gorilla and the man marks the difference between the irrational brute which no outward condition can develop into a progressive, thinking, speaking, moral, and religious being, and a creature with powers, however undeveloped, of comparison, reflection, judgment, speech, sense of right and wrong, religious feeling, capable withal of indefinite advancement; while the difference of sixty-eight cubic inches between those Hindus and a cultivated European means simply the difference between one man and another. Look at another consideration. Is it not a well-known fact that talent, high mental endowment, genius, are not simply the mere natural product of the antecedent conditions. Are not these continually emerging in defiance of expectation and calculation? Do they not often mock the most unfavorable ancestry and environment? Men of genius certainly do not usually appear at the end of a long line of gradually ascending minds, as the foothills slope upward to the mountains. Who will predict the coming of the next great man? Who will tell us in what quarter to look for him? Historically, these men of light and leading stand at the beginning of new developments, and naturally so, for every movement needs for its beginning the mightiest forces. Do not the facts as to the emergence in history of great men at least suggest that precisely at the beginning of the whole development might have come the most gifted spirits and not semibrutes? Certainly we see no reason to surrender to a

mere hypothesis what is undoubtedly analogous to all human experience. Thus we are left free to believe that man, whatever may have been his primitive ignorance, began his career with noble mental powers.

We turn to the second assumption of naturalism, namely, that in existent savage races we can find the best types of primitive man. By a question-begging metaphor taken from geology these barbarous, brutal hordes are styled the oldest strata of mankind that we know. A favorite expression for them is "nature peoples." Here again is a subtle begging of the question which should be proved. Not only this, but an insult to humanity as well. What! that creature, submerged in sensuality, like a beast living only to feed and propagate himself and to gratify the appetites connected with these functions, a creature who, when he does not lie still in laziness, either jumps about in intoxicated pleasure or howls, kills, and who even with savage glee devours his fellows—is he to be called a natural man, and are hordes of such to be styled "nature peoples"? Are not these savages in a condition precisely the opposite of true human nature? Besides, how happens it that primitive man has preserved himself in these savage specimens unchanged until this hour? This modern savage has back of him as many centuries as have the civilized races. Why has he remained stationary? And how shall we explain development by that which, according to the hypothesis, has not, during all those millenniums, developed at all? Moreover, comparative philology lifts up its opposing and decisive voice. Pointing to the polysyllabic and multi-form type of the savage speech, it asserts with all authority that, so far as language proves anything, not these bestial creatures have preserved the original monosyllabic form of language, but that this has been done rather by one of the oldest of civilized peoples, namely, the Chinese. This original type of speech lies also at the base of the Accado-Sumirian, is recognizable in that of the ancient Egyptians, and glimmers through even that of the Vedic Indians. This conclusion of comparative philology is vindicated by all that we know of

the religion, the ethics, and the form of government of the ancient Chinese. More than all, there is reason to believe that, so far from being true representatives of primitive men, these savage peoples are degenerate branches of a once noble stock. Does not reason suggest that since, on this theory, man has actually evolved into a condition immensely above his starting point he must have been at the beginning "above the line which separates stationary or retrograde peoples from progressive ones"? Is it not a well-known fact that the lowest savages are dying out? Then must not the men who on Darwinian principles peopled the world in accordance with the law of the survival of the fittest, when the environment must have been far less favorable to survival and progress than now, have been superior to these degraded and dying tribes? Superior in what? Among the qualities that win in the struggle for existence all evolutionists emphasize better mental endowments. It is therefore a natural inference that the intellectual equipment of primitive man was at least superior to that of the lowest modern savage, and that therefore these are degenerates. When we think of it, we should expect Darwin himself to grant this, and now and then, in spite of his representations in other places, forced by the facts, he does so. So do his disciples—H. Spencer, Lubbock, Caspari, Tylor. Waitz gives examples of degeneration into barbarism even of civilized peoples. Every individual man knows that he can degenerate, and every historian is compelled to admit that in fully civilized society we find races and generations lapsing into irremediable decay. Is it not also a well-known fact that moral and religious decline almost always precedes material decay? Drummond tries to escape the force of this argument by saying: "Granted that nations have degenerated, it still remains to account for that from which they degenerated. That Egypt has fallen from a great height is certain, but the real problem is how it got to that height. When a boy's kite descends in our garden we do not assume that it came from the clouds. That it went up before it came down is obvious from all that we know

about kite making, and that nations went up before they came down is obvious from all that we know about nation making." A very pretty illustration that nicely begs the question! But what if instead of a kite, he had taken a meteor? At any rate, if degeneration is a fact, and if the lowest known savages are degenerate, the props are knocked from beneath the notion that primitive man was a bestial savage. Moreover, it cannot be shown that ever or anywhere have savages shown the power to develop themselves into civilization.

What of the evidence furnished by the anthropological museums as to the various "ages" from stone to iron, and as to troglodytes and lake dwellers? Certainly we must accept for what they are worth the facts which geology provides, that the implements found in river drifts and caves of northern Europe are of very ancient date. But to conclude from this as to the primitive condition of man is about as wise as it would be to argue from the habits and arts of the Eskimos as to the state of civilization in London and Paris to-day. It is probably true that all nations in the progress of the arts used stone implements before they did metals, and thus passed through some such stages as those in question. But we know from the remains of the first Chaldean monarchy that a very high civilization in arts, agriculture, and commerce can actually coexist with the employment of stone implements of decidedly rude character. In fact, the use of stone for arms or utensils, as even Tylor admits, does not at all prove barbarism. He expressly denies that the elevation of a people's religious views invariably corresponds to its knowledge of the arts. This whole argument that has been founded on the materials used in the manufacture of implements is shattered, as the Duke of Argyll suggests, on two rocks, namely, that utensils of stone are a very uncertain index of the state of civilization and mental endowments of those who use them, and, secondly, they are no index at all of the civilization of other peoples in other parts of the globe.

This savage theory thus cleared away, we are ready

to address ourselves to the main question before us. The question is, what is religion taken in its broadest significance and what its underlying intent, from the groveling of the savage before his fetich to the most spiritual aspirations of the mystic with rapt face looking up in prayer? Put in this most general way, religion may be defined as an affirmative relation of the human consciousness to some power or powers conceived as objective, power which determines things and to which man stands in personal relation and for harmony with which the human spirit thirsts and strives. But this means that some being is actually recognized as deity even when the language has no name for God in it. The consciousness of God as such may not exist, but before the man can be religious at all there must be in his soul, perhaps as obscure, uncomprehended, indeterminate notion, the thought of some objectively existing power that conditions his life. Whether this is found in some object sensuously conceived, in the notion of the supersensible, or in the intuition of an unconditioned, spiritual power, a divine nature would never be actually ascribed to it unless to the man had been present, no matter how obscurely, the idea "god." As Edward Caird has shown, not perhaps early man himself but *we* can then say that this was god to him. But how could he, to a being which is not in itself god, ascribe that which makes it god to him unless he had in himself a more or less obscure perception of that which belongs to the divine nature? And how could he ascribe this divine nature as an attribute to any kind of being unless he had taken it, though unconsciously, from him to whom alone it originally belonged? Without the idea of god thus springing up from the depths of man's own being he would have deified nothing. Will those who make human religion begin with fetich worship and the like tell us how could a clod, a stone, a stick, be deified, or even the sun, moon, stars, be worshiped as divine, if there had not been already present in the worshiper's soul the idea of god, however obscure it might be? The "anthropological conception" is in answer to this question brought forward in

vain. It has nothing to do with it. Even more than enough, it is said by the advocates of these very naturalistic views that what the savage really worships is not the thing itself, but some divine power that resides in it. We can easily understand how the child of the Orient sees divine power in the heavens; can well imagine the impression of a divine presence produced upon his mind by the brightness of the dawn that gilds all nature and wakes the world to rejoice; we can understand how he came to conceive a divinity in golden-handed sun and fertilizing river, in the fearful lightnings and the gracious rain; how he recognized a tutelary god on the domestic hearth, the joyous center of the patriarchal life, if the sense of the divine was inherent in his own nature. But if he had not found it first in himself he would have found it nowhere else. Had he possessed an original atheism of consciousness no external revelation could have given him the idea of god, for he would have been as incapable of comprehending it as a dog is. Without the presence in man of that inner "word which is, so to speak, the utterance of the ineffable name in unison by all his highest faculties," the very voice of God would have been to him only a noise, as poet's speech to a snail.

But whence came into man's soul this inherent sense of the divine? Shall we call it an innate idea? That explains nothing and itself needs an explanation. We must go further back. As the capacity for vision relates itself to the light, as the capacity for hearing relates itself to sound, so does man's capacity for religion relate itself to the living God. It implies the original and inward presence of God to the human soul which is earlier than the consciousness by which it is apprehended. The bottom secret is thus the immanence of God in the human spirit. This inward presence of God, this immediate contact of the human spirit with the divine Spirit, it is which begets in man the consciousness of the divine. Evidently the normal development would have been that this original relation of man to God should become, perhaps gradually, but also clearly and fully, a conscious one, a freely

willed principle of life conditioning all feeling, purpose, and action. It is evident from all this that we can never properly speak of the original religion without reference to both the divine and human factors. It is not a mere psychological product of the man, a purely human invention, but begins with a movement of God himself in the human breast. As Paul on the Areopagus said to the Athenians, "God is not far from every one of us." "In him we live and move and have our being." "We are his offspring." That is, God in man is the essential spring of human religion. In the first instance, he may be to a people an unknown God whom they ignorantly worship, but he has himself made them to seek after him, "if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us." How and in what degree the different peoples have actually found him, and what forms religion has taken among them under the operation of the omnipresent Spirit of God, their psychological peculiarities, the surrounding nature, inherited tradition, and the influence of gifted spirits or of other peoples, is the subject for comparative study of religions.

Shall we say, then, that the ethnic religions are corruptions of a pure, primitive religion revealed to the first man? Many so hold. Mr. Gladstone even goes so far as to state six fundamental truths which were probably included in that primitive revelation. But it is not necessary to burden ourselves with any such assumption. Of a perfect religion imparted by special external revelation to the earliest men, history of course knows nothing. Neither does the Bible. In its first chapter it does tell of a primitive condition of man in which his moral state was, as it ought to be, in undisturbed unity with God and with its own type. It says that to man thus innocent was granted freedom to preserve and develop this condition or to forfeit it and sink into corruption. He chose the latter. This is the essential matter in the biblical tradition. The parents of our race, according to this picture, have not only religious capacities but vivid consciousness of the presence of God. The one personal, holy Father causes

this consciousness to spring up in the depths of their spirit. They live in glad fellowship with him until, in some fatal day, they yield to sin which now infuses its venom into their souls. Guilt now troubles the conscience. There is no mention here of a high civilization or of great knowledge, but only of innocence and unity with God, soon broken by sin. The Scripture teaching is thus very simple. Theologians and poets have sometimes drawn wildly upon their imagination in painting pictures of primitive man in paradise. But view the primitive man as Genesis portrays him. Unclad he is at first by so much as a fig leaf, unhoused by so much as a cave. We see no printing press, no Jacquard loom, no telegraph, no libraries, no pictures, no statues, no steam engine, no tool of iron or even of stone, perhaps not even a "fire drill" or arrow-head of flint; no idol, no fetich, no visible God, no guard of angels, no religious ceremonial, no processions, no altars; a garden with perhaps a wealth of tropical luxuriance, and numerous animal forms, rising, grade above grade, until the climax is reached in a pair of graceful human figures. As has been suggested by President Warren, had a person of Dr. Lubbock's stripe been permitted to visit the spot he would doubtless have gone his way to report at the next meeting of the Anthropological Society the discovery of a new Otaheite whose naked and artless inhabitants were evidently at the bottom of the scale as respects culture, and in the subfetichistic stage as respects religion. The Bible itself represents the arts as gradually developed. There was no metal working until Tubal-cain, no musical instruments until Jubal. As Bishop Barry says: "In the scriptural idea of primeval humanity we trace, indeed, all the germs of civilization yet to come: in simple work, the germ of material civilization; in the origin of language, of the intellectual; in marriage, of the social and moral; in the hearing the voice of the Lord, of the religious. But it is in germ only; in a simplicity not brutish indeed or savage, as we now see degraded savagery, but childlike." Nor was there any generation which lived in the primal moral innocence and spiritual unity with God.

The first man fell. The second was a murderer. But this does not imply inferiority of mental powers. Lack of acquired knowledge is something different from innate weakness of intellect. Different from both these also is the question, "What consciousness had he of moral obligation, and what communion had he with his Creator?" We see nothing improbable, even if we accept a sober theory of evolution, in the biblical picture. We know how some of these theorists about development shrug their shoulders at it and attempt to throw ridicule upon it. They sneer at the notion of a fall unless it were a fall upstairs. But is not every man when honest with himself conscious that he is not what he might be and ought to be? Do men as we meet them in the world correspond to their ideal? Do not history and the facts of human life all about us even horribly attest that man has not been and is not what he should be? But since rational thought cannot surrender the demand that man, the free moral being, must, like every other creature, have originally come into being in unity with his idea and not in contradiction with it, it would seem to follow that his history being what it is, he must have fallen. It may be objected that it was designed that man should gradually develop out of his imperfect condition into the perfect. Granted. Certainly the rosebud is imperfect as compared with the full-grown flower. But it does not belong to this imperfection of the bud that it should be misshapen, rotten at the heart, with worms eating away the half-formed petals. The bud may be perfect as bud, and only as it is so can it develop at last into a full-grown, perfect blossom. Why, then, must that necessarily have belonged to the immature condition of humanity, which of itself would make that bud imperfect, that which every sane mind and clear conscience asserts to be a malformation and corruption of human nature, namely, sin and the tendency to sin? Was it not a very condition of man's proper life that he should have before him at least the possibility of a normal development? Thus, as he came from the hands of his Creator man must have been in spon-

taneous unity with him, vividly conscious of his presence, with possibly a deep, clear intuition into his being, nature, will, operations. The man's task, then, would be to unfold this immediate consciousness ever more and more richly in his own thought, will, and deed. After he had fallen there might naturally be occasion for special theophanies, divine judgments, promises, commands, to match the inward discord effected by his sin. Sin would darken those bright spiritual intuitions, yet memory of them would linger with the sinner, accompany him into his changed condition, and pass over to his posterity. The religion of the first man being monotheistic, as it naturally would if the preceding argument is true, that of his immediate posterity would not be much different. How long it remained so is a question which only history could answer. But regarding those far-off days it is silent. The Bible pictures a condition perfectly congruous with what we know of human nature. We see a few, then as now, measurably faithful to their convictions and light, while the majority live in conscious violation of their own consciences. Their spiritual vision is darkened. They do not like to retain God in their knowledge. Immoralities multiply. These further degrade those who **practice** them. In the mind of man darkened by sin God tends to become gods and individual gods tend to disappear in a vague and dreamy pantheism. Beams of light still lingering from better days, the Spirit of God always striving within the man, man in sin and guilt, ever tending to corrupt the truth, these forces together weaving the complex web of religious history, is the picture suggested by the Scripture story and by the plainest facts of psychology. In his *Ascent of Man through Christ*, Griffith Jones has shown it to be perfectly compatible with any sound theory of evolution. The evolution of religion even as described by Tylor is possible only if from the first it contained at least in germ the monotheistic idea at which it finally arrives. "Development is not an alchemy which transmutes pebbles into gold, or stones into living flowers and fruits. It brings out the precious metal from its stony matrix, from the

germ what was from the first potentially there. Otherwise the stones remain common bits of rock forever."

If the above theory is true, then in the oldest religious traditions of mankind of which we have any knowledge we may expect to find some hints, some echoes, some glimmering beams of that early simple monotheism. If we can find these they will strongly corroborate our position. Turning then to the oldest known religions of mankind, we find the facts precisely what we might expect. The existence of early monotheism is receiving every day added confirmation. The Chinese are regarded by many of the best scholars as the oldest stratum of peoples and as most nearly representing the condition of primitive man. What, then, is the lesson taught by the ancient Chinese religion as it existed before the day of Confucius? It had no mythology, speaks of no revelation, but knows only one God. He is not simply a national deity, a god of China only, but the one God of whom they know anything. They have no appellative for him. They call him Ti, Lord or King; Shang-ti, highest Lord; or Thian, heaven, with the consciousness that each of these names designates one and the same being. James Legge, than whom there is no higher authority in anything pertaining to Chinese religion, says that five thousand years ago the Chinese were monotheists—not henotheists, but monotheists—and this monotheism was in danger of being corrupted by nature worship on the one hand and superstitious divination on the other. With him agree Faber, Happel, Strauss, and Torney, and others of the best sinologues. This "highest Lord" is the all-ruling One, and no one can withstand him. He is conscious spirit who most clearly sees all, hears all, knows all. He wills and works but without sound or odor, that is, incorporeally. He is omnipresent, for he goes out and in with men, is over them and under them. He gives life to men, and to the peoples their being. From him come all virtue and wisdom. He is no respecter of persons, hates no one, but specially loves those who fear him, rewards and blesses the good. The wicked arouse his wrath and he punishes them. Now, this is not philosophy.

These expressions belong to a time before speculation had arisen. All seems to spring from unreflecting tradition. Now, when we see, in the course of the centuries, this great idea of deity fade and recede may we not conclude that in prehistoric times it probably had greater purity and inwardness than it had in the days to which our documents reach?

We turn to the peoples of the Tigro-Euphrates valley. The Accado-Sumirian civilization found there was certainly one of the oldest in the world. Hommel makes it not only prior to the Egyptian but also the source of the writing, pyramid building, and mythology of the valley of the Nile. But to ascertain correctly the primitive form of the Accadian religion is not easy. Attempts have been made to show that this religion, in its earliest form, was a crude, superstitious Shamanism. But even those who represent this view are compelled to admit that at the head of this were the great spirits of the earth and the heaven, and that the spirit of heaven, who bore the name Ana, was at the very summit, and that he was abstractly conceived and unapproachable. He seems to have been both heaven and the soul of it, closely resembling the Chinese Thian. Le Normant strongly inclines to the opinion that as, in the oldest religion of China, Thian, heaven, was also "supreme Lord," or Shang-ti, so Ana soared above the other spirits as sovereign master, and thus crowned the religious edifice with a monotheistic idea. The word Ana was indeclinable, and the corresponding Semitic word was Ilu, Hebrew El. Ancient Babylon was called Ka-Dingi Ra, "gate of the mighty God." That the primitive Accadians conceived of this Dingi Ra as personal and the supreme God is conceded even by Tiele. Now in the later development, which was strongly modified by the infusion of Semitic elements, this monotheistic background remained. Ilu was the god preeminently, but was too vast and comprehensive to receive any definite external form and too far off from men to excite any deep interest in him. As the evolution went on gods were multiplied, until of the great deities there were two triads and a pentad with their respective spouses, besides

legions of minor divinities, with a host of genii and spirits below them. There remained the gross polytheism, with the dim idea of the divine unity in the background, sometimes tending toward pantheism.

Of no ancient people have we more abundant information than of the Egyptians. They reach back into the remotest past. Yet the earliest religion of Egypt has been much debated. De Rouge, Grebaut, Pierret, and virtually Renouf speak of it as monotheistic; Brugsch does not really differ much from these, but prefers to call it pantheistic; but plainly pantheism is not an original form of any religion. Lepsius makes it sun worship; Lieblein, the worship of nature; Tiele, of course, animism; Pietschmann, Wiedemann, Maspero, Petrie, mixed conceptions. But all have to acknowledge that the unity of God is expressed in the very oldest texts. Even Lieblein, who works out a scheme beginning with the various local deities, is compelled to acknowledge that as far back as the founder of the monarchy a single god was recognized as supreme. This he calls henotheism; then followed polytheism, which later, as he confesses, greatly degenerated. Tiele also is forced to grant that the notion of the unity of God is found on the very oldest monuments, that the fetichism and worship of natural objects was a vulgar corruption of a religion originally much purer, and that the religion in its earlier forms was far simpler than it afterward became. Wiedemann says that before Menes each nome had developed independently its own religion. Each had its nome god somewhat henotheistically conceived, as "Lord of the gods," "Creator of the world," "Dispenser of every good." He also accepts the growing complexity of the religion as the centuries passed. Von Strauss, from a careful examination of the texts, concludes that "there is no doubt that in Nu there has been preserved a reminiscence of that universal Heaven-god who once belonged to an individual humanity and that for the Egyptians there was a time when they had as yet this God alone." When we see the Egyptian religion and mythology developing themselves from

this time into ever-increasing complexity can there be any doubt in what direction it was moving before historic times? Was not that monotheistic strain purer and stronger then than it was when the torch of history first throws its light upon the scene?

We turn to the Vedic peoples. In a lecture on "The Vedic Religions and Primitive Revelations,"* the author of this article has shown the course taken by them. It corresponded precisely with what might be expected on our theory. The religions hitherto considered know nothing of an individual founder. This is significant. Does it not suggest that in spite of the growing corruption they yet maintained some connection with the original monotheism from which they had branched off, and that the natural course of development had not been disturbed by any great religious founder? It is otherwise with the Iranian brothers of the Vedic people. They tell of the great religious leader Zoroaster. Certainly he has the marks of an historic character and of great antiquity. It is not necessary to emphasize the lofty character of Zoroaster's deity, Ahura Mazda, the purest conception of God known to the ancient world outside of Hebraism. The purest form of it is found, moreover, in the most ancient Gathas, the oldest songs of this faith. It is generally conceded that these ancient Iranians and the Vedic people sprung from a common ancestry. Why did they separate and why did they not preserve the same religion? The oldest religions of other of these Aryan peoples, the Hellenes, the Italians, and even the Germans, are nearer to the Vedic than to that of the Iranians. The others might easily be simply continuations or natural modifications of the Vedic, but not so the Iranians. All the facts seem to lead to the conclusion that the worshipers of Ahura Mazda aroused by Zoroaster opposed the growing polytheism and under his leadership sought to renew or save the earlier monotheism originally common to all. We have thus seen that all these early historical religions point to an original

* *Studies in Comparative Theology*, lecture I.

consciousness in man of the unity of God, the same result as appeared from the psychological side of the investigation. Among the Chinese it was preserved in a form perhaps least removed from the original; the Iranians sought to win it back before its complete loss, and those peoples among whom it did degenerate into polytheism preserved it the better the nearer we mount to the primitive ages.

A study of the religion of savages themselves lends its corroboration. In the background of many if not of all of these there is a monotheistic conception, sometimes measurably clear and pure. Lubbock himself quotes Livingstone as saying, "The uncontaminated African believes that the Great Spirit lives above the stars." It is well known that the Eskimos, American Indians, Caribs, believed in a Supreme Spirit, the "Master of Life." Even Tylor says of the races of America, Africa, Polynesia, "High above the doctrine of souls, of divine manes, of local nature-spirits, of the great deities of class and elements, there are to be discerned in savage theology shadowings quaint or majestic of the conception of a Supreme Deity." Though it is directly in the teeth of his own theory, he yet admits that "the degeneration theory may claim such beliefs as mutilated and perverted remnants of higher religions, in some instances, no doubt with justice." Waitz, in summing up all that can be gathered of the religion of the negroes, says that from north to south of Africa they worship a supreme God in addition to their numberless fetiches. Andrew Lang in his *Making of Religion* gives powerful support to the contention of this paper. His chapter on High Gods of Low Races is especially suggestive.

Thus the facts of psychology, history, and Scripture seem to point to the same conclusion. The farther we go back into that primitive time the narrower becomes the circle of the peoples, until at last we reach the one undivided race who had the religion least removed from the pure intuitive faith of the as yet unfallen pair. That there was some such original unity of the race is taught by comparative philology,

and all the evidence of ethnology tends to the conclusion that mankind spread from some single center and presumably from a single pair. Even Haeckel, Peschel, and Caspari hold with Genesis to the monogenesis of the human race and go so far as to place their imaginary "Lemuria" just near one of the traditional sites of Eden. Drummond seems to assume as much when he says, "Progress can only start by one or two individuals shooting ahead of their species, or by their species being shut off from them;" and Romanes lays stress on the necessity of isolation. Then these isolated ones may well have been Adam and Eve. In face of all the facts, the old Scripture account is not only possible, but in the highest degree reasonable. It better accounts for all the phenomena than any of the hypotheses, and the farther theorists get away from it the more numerous the contradictions in which they are involved.

Geo. H. Trever

ART. X.—EMERSON AS A POET.

THAT Emerson was a true poet of remarkable power cannot be questioned. But whether we may venture to call him a great poet is doubtful. For greatness in this field is usually considered to require some qualities in which he did not excel. To make great poetry there must be something besides great thought. For poetry is, in all cases and at every point, the language of emotion; and emotion, naturally, by a sort of inward necessity, takes on metrical form. Hence the form in poetry acquires an importance not pertaining to it in any other kind of literature; and if the form be found essentially faulty it is a defect that no excellence in other directions can entirely make good. And this is the trouble with much of Emerson's poetry. He had no ear for music. He could not sing. James Russell Lowell remarks in one of his letters: "Emerson was absolutely insensitive to the harmony of verse. It was there he failed. He confessed to me once his inability to apprehend the value of accent in verse. He could not see the difference between a good verse and a bad one." Oliver Wendell Holmes also, noting the desperate work which Emerson sometimes makes with rhyme and rhythm, putting, for instance, "bear" to rhyme with "woodpecker," "feeble" with "people," and "date" with "Ararat," points out how simple a change would often greatly improve the flow of his lines. In "The Adirondacks," for example, there is this line, which is baldest prose, "At morn or noon the guide rows bareheaded," the flat statement of a most unpoetic fact. Not much emotion could be gotten out of it, or into it, anyway, but anybody with the smallest ear for rhythm would have improved the form by saying, "At morn or noon bare-headed rows the guide." Emerson's gross carelessness, then, as a versifier and rhymers, his frequent utter lack of smooth finish and polish, the irregular, unconventional style so often adopted, the crudity, sometimes bordering on juvenility, of many expressions, detracts greatly from his standing as a

poet. His verse so often jars on the sensitive ear, shows such decided lack of nice perception in the harmonies and discords of word arrangement, that the defect cannot be overlooked. But when we have given due weight to this side of the matter, when we have properly remembered his failings as an artist, we must also bear in mind, on the other hand, that, as Dr. William T. Harris says, "No other poet since Shakespeare has been endowed with so sustained and clear an insight into the transcendency of mind in the visible world. In the internal form of poetry he has no superior, though he is deficient in means of expression." If he seems to despise or ignore too frequently conformity to the ordinary laws of poetic construction, there is at least a compensation in the fact that we so often find in his verse an untamed freedom and freshness, as of the wild woods, that seems peculiarly in place, and rarely well fitted to the rugged character of his thought. He was so far removed from the jingle of popular poetry that he never can become a favorite with the general public; his audience will always be small, but it will certainly be of high quality, "fit though few." He was a seer. He saw beauty everywhere, and knew how to clothe the common aspects of life with the colors of his imagination. He had a depth of spiritual experience and a subtlety of spiritual insight very rare, if indeed it be not unique, among our American authors. E. P. Whipple affirms that "while, as a poet, he often takes strange liberties with the established laws of rhyme and rhythm, he still contrives to pour through his verse a flood and rush of inspiration not often perceptible in the axiomatic sentences of his most splendid prose. In his verse he gives free, joyous, exulting expression to all the audacities of his thinking and feeling." "Whoever would understand him," says Mr. George W. Cooke, "must know his poetry thoroughly, for there alone has he expressed the fullness of his thought, and the innermost of his mind and heart." "When he wished to speak with happy terseness," remarks Professor C. F. Richardson, "with unusual exaltation, with special depth of meaning, with the uttermost intensity of conviction,

he spoke in poetic form." He himself said to a friend that he could write in prose by spurring his faculties in action, but he could write in verse only in certain happy moments of inspiration, for which he had to wait. Doubtless his prose, being much more voluminous and more generally read, overshadows his verse, and in his character as a literary force, as essayist and lecturer, he is rated higher than as a poet. Nevertheless, it is the opinion of many of his most intelligent disciples that his verse will outlast his prose. His poems restate, more concisely and more beautifully, the message of his essays. It is certain that his poetry alone would give him a very high reputation were his prose blotted out. "At times," said Steadman, "I think him the first of our American poets. He had at times the finest touch of all. In certain respects he was our most typical poet." Lowell declares, respecting Emerson's verse, that "he has written some as exquisite as any in the language," and that "if he showed no sensuous passion in his verse, at least there is spiritual and intellectual passion enough and to spare, a paler flame but quite as intense in its way."

If he was not a great poet—and I suppose he must not be so called—he was at any rate a great man who wrote real poems. He was greater as a thinker than Longfellow, or Lowell, or Bryant, or Whittier, or Holmes. And once in a while he wrote lines as artistic as any of these, once in a while he reached heights not attained perhaps by any of these. "His poetry was his serenest heaven," it has been well said, "and his most convenient rubbish heap. The union of blind thought and crude art is a dreary thing, but it is a thing too often present in Emerson's verse." He was extremely unequal, and extremely original, copying from no one. He can be profitably compared, however, at some points with Wordsworth, and at some other points with Robert Browning; with Wordsworth more particularly as a student and interpreter of nature. He always saw deep relations between the physical universe and the soul of man. He greatly admired Wordsworth, quoting from him in a volume of favorite poems called

Parnassus, which he published in 1874, no less than forty-three times, more than from any other poet except Shakespeare. He was in some respects a follower of Wordsworth, regarding, with him, the outward world as symbolical of the inward; but, of course, differing so strongly with him as he did in his views of Christianity, having so much more of the mystical, transcendental, pantheistic spirit, there is a corresponding difference in the thoughts which nature suggested to him. "Emerson contemplates himself as belonging to nature," says Holmes, "while Wordsworth feels as if she belonged to him."

Emerson is like Browning in putting more stress on substance than on form. He does not reveal all his meaning at the first breath; he sets us to thinking, leaves much to be discovered by study, pays us the compliment of supposing that we have intellects and enjoy using them. He is rugged rather than beautiful. Also, like Browning, he is a most persistent optimist and idealist, full of courage, hope, and sunshine. Life with him is always well worth living. Progress is continuous and sure, and all things are steadily working out the great purposes of the Creator. He is introspective. He brings into his poems with rare skill some of the dark problems and riddles of being; he busies himself with the many moods and tempers and tendencies of mind. He is intellectual rather than sentimental. He has very little passion, as a rule; he is calm, earnest, reposeful. In the words of Professor C. E. Norton, "his poems are more fit to invigorate the moral sense than to delight the artistic. No poet is surer of immortality than he; but the greater part of his poetry will be read not so much for its artistic as for its moral worth." Yes, he is not only moral, but deeply religious in his peculiar way. God and the soul speak to him everywhere. It is very difficult, however, to place him theologically. He can hardly be called in any strict sense either theist or pantheist. There are times when he seems the one, and times when he seems the other. He was certainly not a Christian, nor was he in all respects a rejecter of Christianity. He said himself, "I cannot

feel interested in Christianity." He refused to be classified. He called no man master. O. W. Holmes says, "Plato comes nearest to being his idol, Shakespeare next." He was indeed as much as anything a Platonist. "Out of Plato come all things," he said. "Why should not young men be educated on this book? It would suffice for the teaching of the race." Yes, he was a Platonist, or perhaps it might still better be said a Neoplatonist, like one of the Alexandrian philosophers; a pagan, at any rate, that is, so far as it was possible for him to be thus with so many centuries of Christian ancestry behind him, for no less than eight generations of Christian ministers, in the old world and the new, immediately preceded him in the family line. A careful inspection of his poems reveals the fact that he mentions "the gods" 76 times, while he refers to God only 59 times. He has in all his poetical productions only 25 references to Holy Scripture, and those mostly of the very slightest sort. His quotations in his prose works tell a similar story. Dr. Holmes has counted 3,393 named references, chiefly to authors, and relating to 868 different individuals. Shakespeare is quoted 112 times, Plato 81, Plutarch 70, Goethe (also a pagan) 62, and St. Paul (a far greater man than any of these) 24. But Emerson, though he pays such scanty homage to the Christian Scriptures—no more than he is obliged to, and scarcely that—was immensely indebted to them, just the same. He carries in his poems the same pure moral tone and high religious purpose that we find there, and nowhere else so well as there. He lives in the presence of the Infinite, and stands in the front rank of those who deal with human duties. He sees chiefly the moral and spiritual relations of men to each other, to nature, and to God. He was, with heart and soul, enamored of moral perfection. His thought was ever occupied with the conduct of life, its right arrangement and highest development. The spirit of man in its relation to ideal beauty is his permanent theme. There is great elevation and inspiration in his sublimest utterances. And he puts some matters so compactly, has so great a gift for saying things, that the

number of quotable passages in his poems is very large considering the really small amount that he wrote in verse. The whole number of his poems is only 131, and the volume containing them is a small one.

He was a most austere economist in the use of words, though prodigal in respect to thought. His prose is considered condensed, but not in comparison with the poetry. That is far more marvelously crowded together. His wish to be terse often makes him obscure, and still oftener makes him seem obscure. He needs to be studied to be fully understood, and the more he is studied the more his utterances grow on one, the more completely their inner harmony appears. Many of his poems should be placed under the class of literature called "oracles," to which the Vedic and Orphic hymns belong. His voice, it has been said, "comes like a falling star from the skyey dome of pure abstractions." "Thoughts on the universe" might well describe his verse no less than his prose. He has no epic or dramatic elements about him. And he is remarkably barren, as a rule, in the matter of humor. The fable of the mountain and the squirrel seems to be his sole feeble attempt in this line. He is always a lyrist. And in his lyrics he makes no attempt to grapple with metrical difficulties, using, with scarce any exception, what has been termed the "normal respiratory measure," octosyllabic verse of the plainest sort, that appearing to be the easiest frame into which he can throw his thought, the one giving least hindrance to a free expression. His range of themes is not a very wide one. He attempts no extended flight of fancy, plans no great work of imagination. He is very defective, in his presentation of truth from the Christian standpoint, but his soul has sight of some of the eternal verities, he is always manly, robust, invigorating, wholesome; he speaks out for justice, freedom, friendship, and nobleness of heart; his ideas are high; his voice rings firm and strong in behalf of whatsoever things are honorable, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report in the upper regions.

We must not take much space to speak of special poems or give extended extracts. When Emerson was asked which of all his poems he valued most he answered "Days." It is very short and so may here be printed:

Daughters of Time, the hypocritic Days,
Muffled and dumb like barefoot dervishes,
And marching single in an endless file,
Bring diadems and fagots in their hands.
To each they offer gifts after his will,
Bread, kingdoms, stars, and sky that holds them all.
I, in my pleached garden, watched the pomp,
Forgot my morning wishes, hastily
Took a few herbs and apples, and the Day
Turned and departed silent. I, too late,
Under her solemn fillet saw the scorn.

Better known is the "Concord Hymn," sung at the completion of the Battle Monument, April 19, 1836, beginning:

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

Holmes calls it the most nearly complete and faultless of all his poems, compact, expressive, serene, solemn, musical; in four brief verses it tells the story of the past, records the commemorative act of the passing day, and invokes the higher power that governs the future to protect the memorial stone sacred to freedom and her martyrs. "The Problem" ranks among the best-known and finest of his poems. Dr. Hedge calls it "wholly unique, and transcending all contemporary verse in grandeur of style." It is in this appears the familiar lines:

The hand that rounded Peter's dome,
And groined the aisles of Christian Rome,
Wrought in a sad sincerity;
Himself from God he could not free;
He builded better than he knew;—
The conscious stone to beauty grew.

The poems devoted to nature and its manifestations are perhaps the most popular of all he has written. "The Snow Storm," "The Rhodora," "The Humblebee" are good specimens. "May Day" is doubtless the best poem ever written

on spring. "Wood Notes" contains some of the poet's most rapturous, ecstatic strains. "Brahma" and "The Sphinx" represent his philosophical poems, not easy to understand, containing deep thought vaguely hinted at rather than explicitly revealed. They teach that the subtle, ever-present spirit is the absolute life in all things, is the all in all, subject and object, doer and thing done; that nothing can be destroyed, the soul being itself one with the Over-Soul, the Infinite.

"Voluntaries" has many thrilling passages. Among them stand out brightest, perhaps, these two:

So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must*,
The youth replies, *I can*.

Stainless soldier on the walls,
Knowing this—and knows no more,—
Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore,
Justice after as before,—
And he who battles on her side,
God, though he were ten times slain,
Crowns him victor glorified,
Victor over death and pain.

"Freedom" is a noble poem; so is the "Concord Ode" and the "Boston Hymn," from all of which glorious stanzas might be selected. We refrain, however, and content ourselves with the following extracts from other pages, all well fitted for packing away in the memory as food for lasting inspiration:

Life is too short to waste
In critic peep or cynic bark,
Quarrel or reprimand;
'Twill soon be dark;
Up! mind thine own aim, and
God speed the mark!

The hero is not fed on sweets,
Daily his own heart he eats;
Chambers of the great are jails,
And head winds right for royal sails.

Though love repine and reason chafe,
There came a voice without reply,—
'Tis man's perdition to be safe,
When for the truth he ought to die.

As the bird trims her to the gale,
I trim myself to the storm of time,
I man the rudder, reef the sail,
Obey the voice at eve obeyed at prime:
"Lowly faithful, banish fear,
Right onward drive unharmed,
The port, well worth the cruise, is near,
And every wave is charmed."

While thus to love he gave his days
In loyal worship, scorning praise,
How spread their lures for him in vain
Thieving Ambition and paltering Gain.
He thought it happier to be dead,
To die for Beauty than live for bread.

James Mudge,

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

No foreign mission field is to-day more intensely interesting than China; it is rendered more fascinating than ever by the thrilling and tragic events of the past two or three years. One of our anxious questions is, What of to-morrow in the mighty land so lately baptized with the blood of martyrs? We hope none of our readers will fail to read the article on "The Outlook in China," by Professor C. M. Lacey Sites of Shanghai, in the Arena of this number.

In a certain church is a sensible and refined woman, daughter of one physician and mother of another. A four years' pastorate closed and a new minister came who was simply bent on preaching the Gospel, and preached it freshly, fervently, illustratively, convincingly. At the close of the third Sunday after Conference this susceptible and appreciative woman thought within herself, "I've heard more Gospel in these six sermons than in all the past four years." She went out of church saying to her fellow-members, "Isn't the Gospel fascinating?" And a sense of spiritual exhilaration diffused itself through that congregation. The church heard a voice which said, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee!"

EXCESSES OF PSEUDO-CRITICISM.

PROFESSOR ADOLF JÜLICHER of Marburg appears in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* as author of the articles on "Logos," "Mystery," "Parables," and "Paraclete." Those and his other writings show that he can no more be classed with conservatives than Pfeleiderer of Berlin, or Hausrath of Heidelberg, or Holtzmann of Giessen, or Weizsäcker of Tübingen. Indeed, Jülicher is called, by so sane, fair, and exact an authority as Dr. George P. Fisher of Yale, "one of the more extreme of the recent German critics." Jülicher's criticisms of the wild excesses of biblical criticism have, therefore, the more weight. If those excesses seem insane and shocking to such a man, they must indeed

be flagrant. No one can possibly accuse him of narrowness, benightedness, or blind traditionalism. Yet he criticises the most advanced critics in language vigorous enough and indignant enough to satisfy the stoutest conservative. (It is also true that the conservative would apply similar language to some of Jülicher's own views.)

This Marburg Professor has no patience with the excesses of the pseudo-criticism which considers itself called upon simply to upset all previous views—a school whose precursor was Bruno Bauer of Berlin, who taught in 1840 that the two greatest figures of the New Testament, Jesus and Paul, should be considered literary fictions and Christianity regarded as the product of Roman popular philosophy. Similar theories have been put forth more recently by Steck of Berne and Völter of Amsterdam. These skeptics assert that the chief Pauline epistles cannot possibly come from the hand of the historical Paul, but belong to a later time immediately before Marcion. With these skeptics Jülicher refuses to make the least compromise, first, because, as he says, "Epistles like those to the Galatians and the Corinthians are simply beyond the forger's power precisely on account of the many 'illogical,' 'incongruous' things they contain which would be highly natural in the situations implied;" and, second, because "No room can be found in the second century for the supposed ingenious artist who immediately before the authority-loving Marcion proceeded, with a sovereign disdain for all accepted authorities, to create fictitious authorities to whom the next stage of development might refer."

Jülicher is severe in his condemnation of certain critics for their pretense of universal knowledge, their rejection of long-recorded history and substitution of extemporized history manufactured offhand in the busy mill of conjecture which is now working overtime, as also for their enormous traffic in hypotheses and their mania for piling up details in support of preconceived revolutionary theories. He mercilessly rebukes "the miserable ambition of glibly explaining away historical personages as the invention or product of their age—of calculating them out as if they were a mechanical combination of the factors which determined the intellectual life of their time and their surroundings." The school of criticism which is possessed by that "miserable ambition" he speaks of as "no more than a symptom

of disease, which, however, is the less to be feared because the tendency to find a solution for every difficulty that may confront exegete or critic by a light-hearted [he might have added, light-headed] rejection of venerable documents as spurious, and the kindred tendency to fill up the gaps in our knowledge with piquant conjectures and ingenious ideas—such tendencies,” says Dr. Jülicher, “are becoming weaker and weaker throughout the whole field of historical research.” And the Marburg critic adds the hope that the same may soon be said of the passion for robbing the great Pauline epistles of all value by asserting the existence of innumerable interpolations within them, and by busily heaping conjecture on conjecture. Declaring that the numerous schemes for the dismemberment of the New Testament have about reached the climax of absurdity, this extremely modern critic says: “The partition of the Epistles to the Corinthians by H. Hagge and H. Lisco is typical of such absurd methods. According to these gentlemen, the Almighty must have set from ninety to one hundred and twenty hands in motion during the first and second centuries to produce a mutilation, unparalleled elsewhere, of all the New Testament texts, with the sole object of creating a field for the brilliant display of the caprice of modern theologians, who will recognize no other task.” It may be added here that such prominent scholars as B. Weiss, F. Godet, and T. Zahn hold that “the authenticity of all the New Testament books (except Hebrews, which, however, does not even profess to be by Paul) is raised above all question;” the negative critics who deny this being characterized by Weiss as “purblind,” by Godet as “impious,” and by Zahn as “stupid and malignant.” Furthermore, Adolf Harnack says that soon “we shall no longer trouble ourselves much about the deciphering of problems of literary history in connection with primitive Christianity, because in general the essential trustworthiness of the traditional view will have attained universal recognition.” Harnack holds that in the whole of the New Testament there is probably but a single document which can be called pseudonymous, namely, the Second Epistle of Peter. Dr. Jülicher thinks many of the mistakes of both the Lower and the Higher Criticism are due to faultiness of exegesis, which, he says, “is still very common in spite of the abundance of good commentaries.”

Similar excesses to those which Jülicher deprecates in New Testament criticism are especially flagrant in the newest and most radical group of Old Testament critics, the historico-critical school represented and led by Gunkel of Berlin, who think that Wellhausen and his followers were too conservative in believing it possible to explain the history of Israel from within itself, while the Gunkel school regards that history as merely a coalescence of elements belonging to a general world-process, and holds Christianity to be a syncretism and not "a living organism carrying within itself the principle of life." This fairly illustrates the temper of the radical criticism of to-day.

Among the marked characteristics of the advanced critics is their mania for novelty and reckless innovation, their ambition to appear as pioneers of research and discovery, and the rapidity of their progressiveness. Some of them are "scorchers" whose speed calls for the interference of the bicycle police. Even those who exclaim in protest against the excesses of those most advanced, themselves proceed to forge ahead so that "where the vanguard camps to-day the rear will camp to-morrow." A considerable proportion of these critics hold no settled views, have no abiding convictions, but seek for notions as yet out of sight which will certainly be built out of mist and moonshine by the bolder innovators of to-morrow. The enterprising adventurers of to-day are not content to rest in the advanced positions taken by Baur or Zahn or Volkmar or Holtzmann; but follow after Van Manen of Holland in New Testament criticism as aforetime certain Old Testament critics followed the lead of the Dutch Kuenen. For them the old Tübingen, Göttingen, and Erlangen did not go far enough; they listen to Amsterdam and Leyden. In illustration of their progressiveness we need only cite the astounding liberties taken with the history and with the text in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, where ingenious and irreverent conjecture has extensively rewritten the Hebrew Scriptures and altered recorded history beyond recognition. Such critics are the anarchists of scholarship, hostile to all established things, and owning no law save their own intemperate impulse and wild fancy. Against such Dr. George P. Fisher protests in his preface to the new and largely rewritten edition of his *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*, where he says that a sounder biblical criticism is called upon to impose a proper restraint upon the license taken

by the conjectural critics in their handling of the New Testament narratives, both as to the Introduction and in the special precinct of exegesis.

For this much-needed service of a sound and sane biblical scholarship against irreverent and destructive critics the Church is obviously dependent on its most highly accomplished, completely informed, thoroughly trained, and loyally evangelical biblicists for both the Old and New Testaments. And their efficiency and success in rendering this service against the foes of the Faith as obviously depends on their being allowed to use all the most approved implements of modern critical warfare, to select and occupy the most defensible positions, and to deploy and maneuver the resources of Christian apologetics in whatever way, according to their experienced and unhampered judgment, may be best adapted to fit the shape of the emergencies which the movement of the enemy may from time to time create. In the nature of the case the interference of the unskilled and the unequipped can only confuse and obstruct. This battlefield is no place for amateurs; they frequently get in the way, mistake friends for foes, shoot into the wrong column, prevent the unity which is necessary for victory, sometimes attempt to take command, and often start panics when there is need of presenting a brave, steady, solid, confident front under capable leaders against the common enemy. In the Pittsburg riots of 1877 the militia could not disperse the mob. The rioters boldly wrestled with the soldier boys for the possession of their muskets, and in some instances disarmed them and actually thrust the bayonets against the owners thereof. The riot was not put down until word went round, "The regulars are coming!" When the train bringing United States troops, seasoned soldiers, skilled marksmen, scientifically trained to the business, rolled into Pittsburg the mob reasoned that it was prudent to break up and go home. Even an ignorant mob knows the difference between the efficiency of the thoroughly trained regulars and the inefficiency of half-trained or wholly untrained amateurs. And the Church must look to its most practiced biblicists, the masters of their business, for effectual defense against the depredations of destructive critics. Exacting victory from these educated and capable leaders, it should leave them free to organize their forces for that victory, according to their own judgment.

THE CONVERSION OF THE WORLD.

THE duty of the Church to render the heavenly treasure of saving truth committed to her accessible to all men is axiomatic and undebatable in Christian circles; for whoso denies that responsibility thereby abdicates the character of Christian.

Christianity is ordered to the conquest of the world, and with that command is given the assurance of ultimate victory; so that neither reverses and failures of the past nor difficulties of the present need dishearten us. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, when Marshal McMahon was compelled, contrary to his own judgment and wish, to give up his line of retreat on Paris, leave the heart of France uncovered to the Crown Prince, and set out to feel his way eastward, seeking at some unknown point a union with Bazaine, whose position and plans he did not know, he turned sadly to his staff as the order to march was given, and said grimly, "Gentlemen, we have nothing to do now but to go and get our brains knocked out." Thank Heaven, no such desperate utterance falls from the lips of our Great Captain. He sends no gloomy words of dismay, no prophecy of disaster and annihilation, along our advancing lines; but cheers us with the guarantee that we march toward the world-wide victory of the day when He shall take the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession.

Christianity proposes the conquest of the world; that is the sublime purpose it avows. But even inside the Church there are a few timid doubters, while outside are a multitude of skeptical deniers and not a few derisive scoffers. The doubters ask falteringly, "How is it possible for the world ever to be converted to Christ?" while the disbelievers scout the possibility and flout the Scriptures which give us warrant for our faith. But the declarations of the one inspired and authoritative Book are distinct and decisive of the fact, and if we had nothing but those predictive declarations it were disloyalty for us to doubt. Side by side with the positive divine predictions are divine commands which bid us for our part busy ourselves in bringing it about, and if we had only those imperative commands, with no light upon the path we are ordered to take, it were sin for us to falter. When the young man asked the Duke of Wellington whether he thought there was any sense in sending out missionaries to India with the expectation that they would make any progress among the vast

millions in spreading the Gospel over that miserably dejected and tormented country, the Iron Duke gave a soldier's reply, and said, "Young man, look to your marching orders." The command of our Captain of Salvation is "Go!" It is ours to march, and not to make reply or question why. Christianity is militant. The use and sense of the stupendous campaign are the Captain's business rather than our concern.

Why should any among us cavil or question? The final triumph of Christianity in no way transcends ordinary Christian faith. On the contrary, it is easy to believe, for it is as much a part of our faith as any doctrine taught in God's word, and it is implied in and inseparably connected with the central facts of Christianity. If we accept the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection of God's Christ and the world's Redeemer, that birth and death and triumph over the grave render credible all we are asked to believe concerning things that went before in the way of preparation and things that come after in the way of development, fulfillment, and completion. Beside that supreme miracle, divinity embodied in humanity, all lesser marvels scarce seem strange; all previous wonders of supernatural power or knowledge in miracles, prophecies, inspirations, revelations, and all subsequent miracles, pentecosts, conversions, transformations, and Christian triumphs fail to astonish us. We are not amazed at a mere prophet when we have seen the Messiah, nor dazzled by the radiant face of Moses when we have looked upon the glistening garments of the Lord, our Saviour. Beholding "the fullness of the Godhead" dwelling in the Man Christ Jesus, we are not surprised at any partial impartations of divine wisdom and power to chosen men. So, if we believe that nineteen centuries ago a cross was raised one Friday on a hill in Judea, and on it a man was hung and on it died, and that his crucifixion was the pivotal event of the world's history, being nothing less than the death of the incarnate Son of God for human redemption, then we have no difficulty in believing that the Religion of the Cross is to possess the whole earth; for that is a mere corollary to be accepted with an "of course" faith, the less being included in the greater: to believe the one is *a fortiori* to accept the other. If the Heavenly King has verily come to earth, He is here to take the kingdom and is able. Our confidence in the world's conversion is cradled where the Virgin's Babe was, in the Beth-

lehem manger; our trust leans where Mary leaned her head, against the Cross. The Incarnation explains all the history Christ's disciples assert, and guarantees all the future they claim. In that event God set Himself to Satan, and we must not spend a moment's mistrust on the end. The whole program of the Gospel, through every part to the final doxology, is absolutely without fail; it can only be hindered and postponed by our guilty, disgraceful, and punishable apathy and faithlessness. If the tremendous story of the coming and suffering of the God-man is true, then the ultimate conquest of the world for Christ follows. If the Christian Gospel is not true, then there is no Gospel, the best and wisest men of nineteen centuries are fools, the Bible is a pack of old wives' fables, and it is doubtful if there be any God who can interest us or is interested in us; for between Christianity, at the top of the incline of religious belief along which men ascend or descend, and atheism at the bottom there is no logical stopping place—he who lets go of the one above ought to fall to the other below.

But some there be who say: "If it is in some miraculous way possible it is not within our power to bring it to pass. It will require some special divine interference and manifestation beyond what has yet been seen, some sensible repetition of the miracles of Pentecost with mighty rushing wind, flaming foreheads, and supernatural gift of tongues, or else the visible second coming of Christ to earth to set up a visible kingdom here. It is impossible of accomplishment by present methods and the forces now in action; these are too feeble, too slow, too imperfect to effect such a sweeping and overwhelming result as the subduing of the world to Christ. So we must wait for God, and not expect great victory until in His own chosen time He shall see fit, if He so wills, to bring back the days of miracles and visibly make bare His arm in the sight of all nations to convince them of His glory and His power." To these we answer that without any repetition of the Pentecostal miracle, without a visible return of Christ in the flesh to set up a visible kingdom, without extraordinary and startling displays of the manifestly supernatural, the mighty and glorious result may be achieved by a proper increase of the simple God-ordained means and agencies which are being used to-day, if fully supported by the earnest prayers, the valiant faith, the devout consecration, the large

liberality, and the obedient activity of a Church which hearing its Captain's command responds, "Be swift, my soul, to answer Him; be jubilant, my feet." The greatest difficulty is not with the instrumentalities and methods, but from inadequate support due to niggard selfishness and languid interest.

But some man will say, "If the conversion of the world to Christ be possible by use of such means as are now employed, it will nevertheless require a long time, so long as to appall imagination and discourage hope." No, not necessarily. The Christianizing of the world is an enterprise capable of advancing more rapidly than most men think. The Gospel may spread by geometric progression, accelerating swiftly into prodigious motion. Its missionary spirit ought to make every convert a propagator of salvation to many others. To show what is conceivably possible, take a little problem in simple mathematics. Suppose there are six hundred millions of heathen, that one thousand missionaries are sent to evangelize them, that each missionary makes one convert in a year, that each of these one thousand converts obtains another convert from heathenism every year, and that this process goes on indefinitely without ceasing—how long will it take to convert the six hundred millions? Not more than twenty-five years! We do not assert that the work is likely to go on so fast as that, but we are warranted in saying that, if the whole Christian Church should be faithful to the cause of missions, some kind of miracle would be required to prevent the conversion of the world to Christ within one hundred years. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions is not insane in taking for its motto and war cry, "The evangelization of the world in this generation." Even Mr. James Bryce, looking soberly at world-movements outside of Mohammedanism and at tendencies within it, thinks it possible that in a comparatively short time, as world-historians reckon, the religion of Islam may disappear from the earth.

The Christian Church soberly believes and unitedly affirms the ultimate conquest of the world for Christ. All nations are to be converted to Christianity. Though other religions cover most of the world-map to-day, the evangelization of the world is not an iridescent dream, but a practicable enterprise. More than this, it is certified to us who trust God's word, on the pages of which is written ineffaceably as with pen of iron and point of

diamond the eternal decree. That the Gospel will victoriously occupy the whole earth is credible because of the forces, visible and invisible, earthly and heavenly, enlisted or available in its behalf. All the material forces of the universe are controllable by Him who is conducting this campaign, and more swiftly than we can imagine He may maneuver these forces, unify dissevered wings, call up the reserves, and bring it to pass that the strongest battalions of all sorts of material resources shall be upon the side of Providence. The will of God rules in the physical universe and its forces obey His behest and serve His purpose. The stars in their courses fought against Sisera. The sun in heaven helped Joshua chase the five kings from Gibeon down the valley of Ajalon. For the destruction of the Spanish Armada the winds and waves had commission from God to fight under British banners. At Marathon, it was not until the setting sun of the day's fight streamed straight into the eyes of the Persians and dazzled them blind, so that they could not see to fight, that Miltiades saw his much-outnumbered Greeks drive back the tiaraed hosts of Darius, giving final and fatal check on that Marathonian plain to the religion of Zoroaster which threatened to overrun Europe.

Spiritual forces, too, of a kind and magnitude only dimly conceivable and utterly incalculable by us, are mustered in the support and service of God's world-saving purpose. We know not how, on earth and in heaven, in measureless circles and with resistless power, these invisible forces are wheeling and massing and rolling together for victory, but we know what they fight for. In the Uffizi Gallery at Florence a visitor was perplexed a moment over Rubens's painting of Henry IV at the Battle of Ivry. He tried to make out which was the figure of Henry in the rush and confusion of the fight. It was difficult to say which side was being driven. But in his moment of perplexity he glanced up at the upper right-hand corner of the picture and saw in the air, above the fighters on that side, angels with shields and spears and swords; and then he knew which way the battle was going and which of the hard-fighting figures would win the battle. They win who have the heavenly hosts with them, and who fight with spirit forces on their side.

The world-wide triumph of the Gospel is not made less credible by partial failures or temporary defeats. So long as the total

result is gain, not loss, local failures are but incidental and prove nothing against final success. Our war for the Union had its Yorktown, Great Bethel, Fredericksburg, and many other reverses; but it came, after all, to Gettysburg and Appomattox. The fall of leaders and the shattering of the lines here and there are not fatal, if only the ranks are at once closed up and the leaders fall by the hand of God, not deserting their posts nor being recalled by a recreant Church. Some verses entitled "Relieving Guard" come to memory here:

Comes the Relief. "What, Sentry, ho!
How passed the night through thy long waking?"
"Cold, cheerless, dark,—as may befit
The hour before the dawn is breaking."

"No sight? No sound?" "No, nothing save
The plover from the marshes calling,
And in yon western sky about
An hour ago, a star was falling."

"A star? There's nothing strange in that."
"No, nothing; but above the thicket,
Somehow it seemed to me that God
Somewhere had just relieved a picket."

Let God do all the relieving. No desertions, no recreancy, no retreating. If we rest the responsibility with Him, He will not recall one sentinel till orders from headquarters have been sent to another to take the vacated place. And we verily believe that if, in any such case, God could find no man who was willing, we should see an angel descending from heaven, with light like a falling star, in haste to fill the vacant post.

The conversion of the world to Christ is assured and credible notwithstanding the fears of the faint-hearted and the jeers of mocking skeptics. After all attacks, subtle or furious, brainy or brutal, upon Christianity—though materialistic scientists and philosophers abolish its God; though the attempt is made to banish its religion to the realm of the emotions, ruling its evidences out of the court of Reason; though neo-pagan culture pronounces it a vulgar failure, and one voice calls it a partially civilized barbarism—we need not be frightened or perturbed. The wrath of enemies is sure to praise our God; they will be put to confusion and shame and made to serve unwittingly the cause they hate. In Schiller's drama of "The Robbers" one of the

characters asks in the midst of a battle whether there is any powder left, and is answered, "Yes, powder enough to blow the earth to the moon." So in the battle always raging between light and darkness, Christ and Belial, some timid friend or deriding foe asks if there is anything left of Christianity; and the answer for to-day and all days is, "Yes, enough left to lift the whole earth to heaven to be bound by gold chains about the feet of God." The prospectus of the Gospel is trustworthy. In espousing it we wed no Lost Cause. One day the cry will run through heathendom, "The gods are dead, and only God and His Christ remain." The false gods from their idolatrous seats shall see their forces routed and destroyed, as Xerxes sat on his silver throne, two thousand years ago, on the gray rocky heights of the Aegalian hills above the straits of Salamis, and saw his fleet shattered and sunk before the valor of Themistocles and the Grecian triremes. That shall happen in the whole earth which happened in Florence, when Savonarola turned to the assembled multitude and, holding up before them an image of Christ, cried, "Florence, this is the King of the universe; He wishes to be thy King: wilt thou have Him?" And they all with a great shout answered "Yes!"

Nothing is plainer than that in all the pagan world the religion of Christ steadily gains upon the false religions. All around the edges of its contact with Christian civilization heathenism melts away, and even its very heart is dissolving by the potent catalytic action of influences which penetrate its huge bulk through and through. Every decade a milder and sunnier moral climate envelops the earth. If we visit Switzerland we find still to-day great glaciers and vast fields of eternal snow; but we find them limited now to the high Alps and the central ranges, while evidences are abundant that that country was once wholly covered with ice and snow. The Gorner glacier once came to the Rhone. The Rhone glacier extended a hundred miles farther and filled Lake Lemman and all its basin, for we find great granite boulders belonging to the central Alps strewn the Salève, at Geneva, and even the far-off limestone slopes of the Jura range. Walking down the valley of the Aar, from the Grimsel hospice to the terminal moraine at Meiringen, we see indubitable proof, in the scarred and grooved mountains and bitten rocks, that the Aar glacier, on which Agassiz made his observations sixty years ago,

once reached far beyond where it now terminates. There must have been a cold epoch, when over all that region of earth reigned ice and unbroken winter. Valleys were plowed and mountains ground by fierce and mighty glaciers, which, for wild terror and titanic power, had never any brother but the earthquake. But somehow, sometime, long ago, the climate warmed, and the sun, grown more powerful or having a fairer chance to shine, melted the glaciers back up the valleys; wholly destroyed some and diminished all. And then grass sprang up, flowers bloomed, trees grew, harvests ripened, herds grazed, and men built their homes in the redeemed and softened places; and to-day those fair Swiss valleys are a paradise for bees that love honeyed sweets, birds that love mosses, shady woods, and crystal streams, herds that love tender, juicy grass, and men who love all natural beauties blended in one land.

So continents have been covered with the ice and snow of spiritual winter. Great rivers and seas of icy ignorance and error and evil have filled the vales and overswept the mountains of the earth. Lands have been crushed and frozen as by a dark and bitter glacial epoch. But the climate grows rapidly warmer. Much of the earth already feels the reign of spiritual summer, and though some glaciers remain they are melting back. India, China, Africa, and the rest have thrust out their paganism on the map of Christian civilization like so many glaciers, reaching out their cold furred tongues to lick up the world's green life, but the Sun of Righteousness is telling on them. Valley after valley is redeemed, and as the ice recedes brave men and women are sowing the precious seed of eternal harvests in its track, and flowers of spiritual beauty spring amid the very drippings of the retiring frost.

If the Church is faithful God may reward our fidelity in the not distant future by causing the great work of world-redemption to go forward by leaps and bounds. New epiphanies, mighty pentecosts, wondrous apocalypses, may descend and unfold in many lands. Such sudden revelations and outbursts would be in harmony with the divine method in the universe. What we see of God's working in other things makes it entirely conceivable that, in this case as in others, a long and slow seeming process of preparation, giving little indication of itself, may unfold into completion with sudden and startling rapidity. We get hints

from many directions. The chestnuts hang on the chestnut boughs, and grow through many months, but one sharp night of frost bursts open the burs, and one morning of wind shakes the ripe chestnuts to the ground. The aloe grows for fifty years, without blooming or showing any sign of it, then suddenly shoots up one lofty stem, and bursts at its crest into a perfect splendor of flowers. Have you seen a frozen river break up at the close of winter? The ice looks solid and firm as ever on the surface, long after the snow has melted on the hills and the springtide begins to swell; but the turbid water, full of grit and soil, flowing beneath, is wearing and eating and rotting away the under side of the ice, and some day suddenly the ice splits, gives way, breaks in pieces, and goes rushing and tumbling to the sea, and the river is open all at once. The great currents of human thought and life, where they have been frozen over by paganism and idolatry, may feel as sudden a springtide burst their fetters and flow free. In all human effort a struggle which has trembled and wavered long sometimes terminates abruptly. The victory long poised descends all upon one side, swift as an avalanche. The great battle of Leipsic, when the allied Russians, Austrians, and Prussians fought Napoleon, in 1813, which the Germans call the "Battle of the Nations," was painfully slow, severe, and dubious in its progress, but finished swiftly. It was waged uncertainly for three days, but was concluded at noon on the fourth day, when a single battalion of Prussian Landwehr stormed the Grimma gate and forced an entrance; in one hour Napoleon was in full retreat, in another hour the allies occupied the town, complete victors. Is nothing like this possible in the great siege of man's soul?

All considerations forbid us to despair or doubt. The poor in faith and courage, like the poor in pence, are always with us; but no aggressive enterprise goes forward by listening to croakers and discouragers. Prophets of evil never braced anybody's armor for battle. Let us listen to Caleb and Joshua, and go up to possess the land. Felix Adler, from his ethical culture platform, holding one service on a Sunday in New York, while Christian Churches hold a thousand services, thinks the Churches are dissolving and the salvation of society depends on the ethical culturists. Father Pardow, a Jesuit priest, tells his New York congregation that Protestantism is now dead and absolute un-

belief is all that remains for Rome to fight against. President Harper, of Chicago, is reported as saying that the Church has alienated the laboring class and the wealthy class and is now alienating the intellectual class. But the reverse of these statements is true, for never were the Churches so firmly established and thoroughly organized for action, Protestantism never was so alive and powerful, and never was so much of brawn and brain and money pledged to the service of the Church. There is not anywhere a single excuse for retreating or faltering. When General Buford was dying, in his delirium he imagined he saw his troops giving way and fleeing before the enemy, and raising himself on his elbow he said, "Send for the brigade commanders, and put guards on all the roads to prevent anybody from going to the rear." Our bishops, secretaries, general committees, and presiding elders are our brigadiers, and every pastor is a guard on some road to see to it that nobody goes to the rear in the great campaign for the conversion of the world.

If our Christianity retreats, falters, or fears it is unworthy of the age we live in. Shall Christianity be the one dead thing in a living time? Shall it be the one torpid, bedridden thing, unable to go abroad and travel, in this day of electric stir and mighty motion? Shall science occupy the whole earth with its stations, and not the Gospel? Shall commerce conquer all lands and seas, and not the Gospel? Shall the telegraph go everywhere, till the globe is thrilling round and round with millions of electric nerves, and not the Gospel? Shall explorers search the heart of Africa, and not the Gospel? Shall Arctic expeditions make the acquaintance of the farthest Eskimo, and not the Gospel? Our Captain of salvation orders an advance of the whole line, and unless we go forward with intrepid faith in the destiny of our religion we are unworthy the name of American Christians, in this land, which is leading the nations, and, by the free confessions of men beyond the sea, is rapidly laying its hands on the supreme power of the world; and unworthy, above all, of the Master whose glorious name we bear. The visitor to Athens has few more thrilling moments than when he stands upon the bema of the Pnyx, overlooking the Athenian plain and city, with the Areopagus and the Acropolis towering on his right, and says to himself: Here stood Demosthenes when he melted the heart of Athens. On this spot it was that the mighty Stammerer

took the ocean pebbles from his cheeks, and, swelling in the springtide of his power, broke like the heavy rolling surf of the sea, with the passion of a storm and the noise of winds and waves, against the headlands and into the gulfs along the shore of Athenian thought and feeling. Here the great orator thundered and hissed till Athens boiled, and answered, "Lead us against Philip!" O for a Christian Demosthenes in every pulpit and on every platform to fire the hearts of the people with holy militant enthusiasm until the cry shall burst from all our assemblies, "Lead us against the idols and the false gods!"

Every Christian is called to render missionary service in person or by proxy. Rapidly increasing numbers respond to this call, "I will go. Be swift, my soul, to answer Him; be jubilant, my feet!" So that every year thousands of missionaries "at His bidding speed and post o'er land and ocean without rest." Those who do not go are bound to send and support those who are willing and waiting to go. A multitude of young people in schools and colleges and churches, the finest flower of Christian culture, are offering themselves for the mission field. How can the Church dare to refuse to send them? In 1902 the Methodist Episcopal Church added fifty-seven thousand scholars to its Sunday school enrollment, and increased its communicants by fifty thousand, swelling our actual Church membership to a round three millions. "One dollar a year per member for missions" is but a small cry to raise, and it will put three millions a year in the treasury. Then the Methodist Episcopal Church will begin to do its duty. Enlarging contributions to the regular collections, the securing of the Twentieth Century Thank Offering of twenty million dollars, such wonderful gatherings as the unparalleled Missionary Convention at Cleveland last October and the enthusiastic General Committee meeting at Albany in November, and the spiritual stir and expectancy which every watchful and sensitive soul must perceive in our Church, all indicate that God is with us. The pulse of Methodism beats strong with energy and purpose, and they who have been talking of its decadence and trying to explain the cause thereof need to divert their energies from groaning and grave-digging to the commanded business of "pushing things," if they desire to keep up with the procession which is swinging forward at a quickening pace, marching to the conversion of the world for Christ.

THE ARENA.

THE OUTLOOK IN CHINA.

RETURNING to Shanghai in September, after a flying trip to America, I began work at once with my Chinese "teacher," endeavoring to get in touch with the current of events from the Chinese point of view. For this purpose I make use especially of a Review which is published about every ten days, giving a summary of important events, with public documents frequently in full, and of one or two leading native dailies. What struck me at once were the more independent tone of official communications addressed to foreign representatives and the very uncompromising temper shown in the maintenance of Confucianism as against freedom of religious observance in the new colleges. One example of the first is the letter of the Shanghai taotai to the Belgian consul-general on the question as to whether the protocol of 1901 made gold or silver the standard for calculating the successive installments of the indemnity. Another example of bold tone in argument is the flat-footed repudiation, by the Chinese treaty-revision commissioners, of the interpolated clause in the French treaty of 1860 relative to missionary residence in the interior.

The Chinese nation, particularly the official class, smarts under the humiliation of foreign invasion, occupation, and imposition of an indemnity which bears heavily on the disordered finances of the country and runs on through tedious decades. With the wonderful adaptability of the race, they have accepted the situation, officially, with perfect grace. It was a case of *mu yu fah tze*—"can't be helped"—and in such a case a Chinese never frets. But there are no people on the globe who, in their social forms, attach more significance to the hurt that honor feels; and it would not be surprising that officials should seek, in every safe way, to retrieve their country's dignity. It is, in fact, precisely the course which was pursued by the chief ministers of the empire after their unwilling acquiescence in foreign demands in 1842 and 1860. The matter of prime importance for Western powers to remember is that after every painful lesson which they teach the old empire by force of arms they find their pupil wiser and less docile. When China and Europe met some forty years ago it was a nineteenth century Europe and a seventeenth century China; when they meet again—perhaps before the forty-year term of the indemnity is filled out—China will be found progressively better prepared to deal on equal terms.

The recent evidences of renewed zeal for Confucianism may be due to the same strenuous effort to regain and hold lost ground. I think, however, that it has a deeper meaning. I believe China is in the throes of a veritable renaissance. Here, as in the period of

the renaissance in Europe, the ancient classics are being turned up for their practical teachings, and instead of scholastic disputations and disquisitions we find newspapers and pamphlets filled with pleas for improved policies and methods, with citations of historic examples from Western civilization, but always introducing, as the base of the argument and as the point of the appeal, quotations from the rich store of classic thought. Confucius is, for China, the preeminent master of a dominant cult—the lord of scholars. The respect paid to him is not a religion, and the obeisance made before his tablet is not worship. Yet it is the only cult for which the people have any respect, the Buddhist and Taoist priests being tolerated only for the performance of customary rites at feast times, funerals, and the like. The Chinese, as a people, have no religious system which in any degree affects the conduct of the common day. If they are to have any religion at all, in the proper sense and as a dominant belief, it will, in my opinion, be the religion of Christ. Even now, under the surface, its influence is permeating the empire. It is not yet time for a Constantine to arise to make Christianity the religion of the state; such a policy at this time would be even worse for China than it was for Rome. But when the progressive enlightenment of the people shall have straightened out the present tangle as to "toleration," it will be found that the scholars of the country—and this means its rulers—can harmonize reverence for Confucius with faith in Christ.

It cannot now be doubted that the progressive movement is a fact. This is true especially in the matter of education. Last winter I had occasion to make a cursory study of the imperial edicts bearing upon the educational system, which had been put forth during the period of reconstruction after the flight of the court from Peking. Upon the face of them these edicts showed such a progressive temper, coming as they did from the same court that had crushed the reform movement of 1898, as to constrain some discounting of their sincerity. Quite likely one of the considerations which prompted their promulgation by the empress dowager and her conservative counselors was the wish to hasten the exit of the insistent foreigners from the imperial city by making a show of reform. But, as has happened before in the world's history, a strong personality has changed the wordy project of the legislative trimmer into a reality. Yuan Shi-kai, then governor of Shantung, now viceroy of Chih-li, recognized the emergency and, having the opportunity, used it for his country's good. He took the edicts at their face value, and not only drew up plans of educational organization for his province, as all his colleagues were doing, but proceeded to organize—not only called a capable foreigner to plan a system of elementary schools, besides the provincial college, but provided the teachers and put them to work. When, under the viceroy's instructions, President Tenney, of the Tientsin University, who is also inspector of schools for the province, sent out his first batch of teachers to take charge

of the middle schools in the prefectural cities, the other day, China took a step forward which she can never retrace. With the metropolitan province thus taking the lead in carrying out literally the imperial commands, it is a moral certainty—which means, in China, a necessary propriety—that the other provinces, lag as they may, must join in the procession.

The movement, in truth, is general. Two men, in particular, who were famous as statesmen when Yuan Shi-kai was only a soldier, are entitled to more credit, perhaps, than any others for the present progressive attitude of the imperial court; I mean Viceroy Liu, of Nanking, whose recent death has called forth a universal expression of regret, and Viceroy Chang, of Hankow (Wuchang). Back of the officials are the scholars and the gentry. From their ranks the officials are chosen. The great provincial examinations for the degrees which are the passport to office have just been concluded—the first held since the reform of the examination system. Here again those who prophesied that the reform was all a pretense are confuted. With remarkable alacrity the examiners have dropped the ancient formularies and propounded themes from history, political science, and the application of classic doctrines to China's present and most pressing problems. For months the candidates have been reading everything in reach on these subjects. The results of the examinations—which have not yet generally been announced—will almost certainly cause much dissatisfaction; for the examiners themselves have, in many cases, but a scant equipment for their new duties. But the reform will go on; for every scholar knows, as the government has declared, that the only hope for coping with the might of Western nations is by getting their knowledge. Back from the gates of examination courts sweeps a wave of eager, aspiring intellectual life to the doors of our colleges, only to return with gathered force for the next trial. Everywhere private schools are springing up for the teaching—often by ill-prepared teachers—of English and of "Western" sciences. The printing houses cannot meet the demand for translations of histories, geographies, and scientific works. The demand is indicated in one undesirable but unmistakable way—the prevalence of "pirating." Standard books of mathematics, etc., prepared, in many cases, by missionaries, for their schools, have been photolithographed and republished in vast quantities.

The controlling sentiment in China to-day may be summed up, so far as regards the foreigner, in the desire to use him where he is indispensable and a determination to put an end to his domineering. It has taken forty years' schooling to develop this desire, and it may take forty years of waiting to accomplish this determination. Inertia has been China's strongest resource in every contest with the West. It may still suffice to preserve her formal integrity during this critical transition period, when, by making use of extraneous agents, in perhaps dangerously large numbers, she is seeking to

recuperate her own vital forces. Her restiveness with the system of extraterritorial jurisdiction has been displayed in the current treaty negotiations. When she does come into full possession and enjoyment of her native resources there will be the making of more history, both domestic and international, than the wisest of political prophets can forecast. For the present she is engaged, almost strenuously, in doing what her wise old viceroy, in his book, *China's Only Hope*, told her she must do: Learn! With the zealous endeavor to help her attain the best and highest learning may also be bound up much of the hope of the world.

Shanghai, China.

C. M. LACEY SITES.

THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.

FIRST of all, Jesus was a perfect and complete man. He was not only divine but human, and was tempted in his humanity as we are. Satan not only appealed to his bodily hunger to tempt him, but he appealed also to his human intellect and spirit. We are encouraged because Jesus resisted evil humanly, in our nature as we do. He somehow unthroned and uncrowned himself, emptied himself, as Paul says, that, facing temptation in his natural humanity, he might feel its awful power, and, conquering it, show us how to conquer. Himself man, tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin, yes, conqueror of sin, he is able to help the tempted.

The natural desire which is used in temptation to overthrow us is sinless. I cannot help being hungry if I have gone without food; but if I secure food at any price, if I sell out to the devil to satisfy my natural appetite, that is sin. Sin begins when the will consents to temptation. The first Adam not only desired the fruit forbidden, but he subordinated the higher law of obedience to the will of God to the lower desire of self-gratification, and sinned. The second Adam desired bread, needed bread, he was hungry, pale, emaciated, fainting with long fasting; but he would rather die amid the friendless stones of the Jordan desert than to be untrue to his Father's will. "Not as I will, but as thou wilt," was his word in the desert, in the garden, on the cross. The core of sin is self-will. The vowel in sin is "I." As Baron Bunsen said, "There is no sin but selfishness, and all selfishness is sin." The will is not all of the man, but it is the citadel of the soul. If that citadel remain true all will come true; if that citadel is false all will be lost.

Whether in the Gospel records of the temptation we have literal history of outward visible events or a pictorial presentation of inward spiritual conflict, we have a powerful realistic picture of actual and fearful strife between the supremely loyal Son of God and the supreme traitor of the universe. Whether Jesus was capable of sinning and falling or not, we are sure that it was no mock battle, sure that from that awful strife he came forth a sinless conqueror. One is not ready to be exalted to high service until one has first been

tested and proven. Goodness that is mere sinlessness does not mean character and great moral power. Goodness must become positive before it is crystallized into holiness. It is resistance to evil, conquest of temptation, that equips us with moral power and positive holiness. So Jesus must be tempted in all points if he would be the perfect man and the perfect Saviour of men who are tempted.

Tintoretto in art and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps in literature have vividly portrayed the terrific temptation of Jesus. The desert is a dreary and appalling desolation. There is Jesus at the foot of the bare chalk hills. There is no sign of life except birds and beasts and hissing, wriggling serpents. Perhaps a robber steps forth to gaze gloomily, then dodge back from view, like a bat or owl of the night. The baptism at the Jordan is fresh in his immediate memory. The white dove still floats before his vision. His ears reecho the Father's attestation, "Thou art my beloved Son." It was the crisis of the life of Jesus, the end of his private citizenship, the beginning of his public ministry. Peril and opportunity met. If Jesus is loyal in will and affection and judgment, loyal in his whole being to God, the supreme will, the supreme wisdom, the uttermost love—then is he God's Son indeed. But can the tempter entice and allure and lie him into a disloyal will, a false affection, or into some dare-devil act of ruinous folly, some scatter-brain enthusiasm reckless of all consequences? Satan will make his utmost endeavor.

To the lonely and hungry man half frenzied with forty days of famine the stones of the desert seem like loaves warm from his mother's oven. He touches them: they are stones, cold, sharp, exasperating. But the voice is in his ears, "Thou art my Son." Cannot the Son of God, the firstborn of the Creator, turn stones to bread? The very Godhead pulses in his almost desperate brain and will. A word and the stones are bread! But what is the Father's will? For Jesus this is ever the supreme question. For answer he remembers the word of Moses, who like him had fasted forty days in the mountain: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God." God, God, God is man's life. It is easier for the starving body to be nourished by the mind and heart of God than for the starving soul to live on bread alone. The temptation is cut in pieces by the sword-thrust of the word of God. Satan, the very embodiment of what Dr. Gunsaulus calls "a delicious gospel," says, "Enjoy life, avoid suffering, have a good time, do no wrong to yourself." Jesus answers from the inspired word that man is more than earthly and needs more than bread. Strenuous moral effort to meet the will of God shatters the temptation to yield to the sleek enticements of the self-indulgent world. Satan takes the sword by which Christ conquers him in the first temptation to tempt him in the second. He will quote Scripture himself. He will tempt a religious man with a religious temptation. Yet while there are three temptations it is really one great threefold temptation, namely this, to forget the Father's will. Does Jesus trust God for bread? Very well, Satan

will turn his very faith into presumption, and make his strength his ruin. What multitudes of mighty men has he overthrown this way! If an appeal to appetite will not prevail he will appeal to spirituality. "God is your Father. Angels attend you, float from the tempter; the people will adore you, and you will be acknowledged Messiah and King of the Jews."

One fairly trembles at the possibility of a surrender to Satan. We may tremble for ourselves and for our children, for the tempter still lives and has lost none of his cunning. He stands ready to throw dust in the eyes of the very elect, leading them into maddening superstition to follow the pretensions of a wonder-making prophet rather than the quiet, reasonable will of the loving Father, until a burly policeman is compelled to snatch a poor, suffering burned child from the arms of its own parents, victims of the temptation to desire a prodigy and seek after a sign.

Jesus again recalls the Scripture, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." You are not to have so much faith that it becomes credulity and superstition. Beware of false prophets. Beware of the misuse of Scripture. Beware of the religious temptation. The beast has the horns of a lamb in the book of Revelation. The destroyer wears sheep's clothing. Foiled in his appeal to the natural appetite of Jesus, foiled in his subtle temptation of the very spirituality of Jesus, Satan in very desperation sought to tempt him in the line of worldly ambition, begging him to fall down and worship him and receive the crown of all the kingdoms of the world. This is open, palpable treason against the great God, but it is a last resort. Jesus, aroused by this insult to the majesty of God, with the flash of a holy indignation in his eyes, thrusts the sword of the Spirit into the very heart of the arch traitor who would make the supremely loyal Son of God a sharer of his own infamous treason. The apostate spirit thrust through by the absolute loyalty of Jesus, and his pride cut to the blood at the commandment which Jesus quotes as the statute of loyalty, reminds him of his own awful revolt—defeated, dishonored, exposed, falls back and abandons the siege of the irreducible fortress of Jesus's will forever loyal to the Father.

In Jesus's ears still sing the words, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." And angels came to celebrate the Victor who had thrown back the strength and the cunning and the impudence of hell.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF COMMENTARIES, CONCORDANCES, BIBLE DICTIONARIES, AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS.

THIS bibliography, we hardly need say, does not aim at completeness. It might easily be made fuller. The difficulty has been to keep the list down. The books included have been selected as in some way the most important of their class. Of course, the *Review* is not to be understood as indorsing or agreeing with all the teachings and opinions in any one of the books mentioned. Each student must use his own careful discrimination in accepting or rejecting any part of their contents; he must be supposed to be able to discern what can be adjusted with the doctrines and views of Methodism and what is antagonistic thereto or inharmonious therewith. To do that is his lifelong business with reference to all the literature that comes in his way. He must practice it on the books in this list. Specifically, we must say that, valuable as Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* is, we cannot approve it *in toto*; and, as for the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, the only safe or proper place for it is in the libraries of specialists in biblical scholarship whose work compels them to know the literature of that department *pro* and *con*, hostile as well as friendly. The works here mentioned all represent ability and scholarly research. The different works under each head are arranged in the order of preference. It should be noted that the Commentaries in the first group—those on the entire Bible—contain many of the best works on particular books of Holy Scripture.

I. COMMENTARIES ON THE ENTIRE BIBLE.

1. A Commentary on the Old and New Testaments. Edited by D. D. Whedon. 14 vols.
2. The Bible Commentary—"The Speaker's." Edited by F. C. Cook. 10 vols.
3. The Expositor's Bible. Edited by W. Robertson Nicol. 28 vols.
4. The Pulpit Commentary. Edited by H. D. M. Spence and J. S. Exell. 51 vols.
5. Commentary for English Readers. Edited by C. J. Ellicott. 8 vols.

II. COMMENTARIES ON PARTICULAR BOOKS.

OLD TESTAMENT.

1. Genesis. (a) F. Delitzsch. 2 vols. (b) A. Dillmann. 2 vols.
2. Exodus. J. MacGregor. 2 vols.
3. Leviticus. M. M. Kalisch. 2 vols.
4. Deuteronomy. S. R. Driver.
5. Joshua. G. F. Maclear.
6. Judges. (a) J. J. Lias. (b) G. F. Moore.

7. Samuel. (a) A. F. Kirkpatrick. 2 vols. (b) H. P. Smith.
8. Kings. J. R. Lumby. 2 vols.
9. Ezra and Nehemiah. H. E. Ryle.
10. Job. (a) A. B. Davidson. (b) F. Delitzsch.
11. Psalms. (a) J. J. S. Perowne. 2 vols. (b) A. F. Kirkpatrick. 2 vols. (c) F. Delitzsch.
12. Proverbs. (a) F. Delitzsch. (b) C. H. Toy.
13. Isaiah. (a) F. Delitzsch. (b) B. Blake. 2 vols. (c) T. K. Cheyne.
14. Jeremiah. (a) C. von Orelli. (b) A. W. Streane.
15. Ezekiel. A. B. Davidson.
16. Daniel. S. R. Driver.
17. Minor Prophets. C. von Orelli.

NEW TESTAMENT.

1. Matthew. (a) H. G. Weston. (b) H. A. W. Meyer.
2. Mark. (a) E. P. Gould. (b) H. B. Swete.
3. Luke. A. Plummer.
4. John. (a) B. F. Westcott. (b) F. Godet. 3 vols.
5. Acts. (a) T. M. Lindsay. 2 vols. (b) J. R. Lumby.
6. Romans. (a) W. G. Williams. (b) J. A. Beet. (c) Sanday and Headlam.
7. Corinthians. (a) F. Godet. (b) J. A. Beet.
8. Galatians. E. D. Burton.
9. Ephesians. T. K. Abbott.
10. Philippians. M. R. Vincent.
11. Colossians. J. B. Lightfoot.
12. Thessalonians. G. W. Garrod. 2 vols.
13. Timothy to Titus. C. J. Ellicott.
14. Hebrews. (a) F. Delitzsch. 2 vols. (b) B. F. Westcott.
15. James. J. B. Mayor.
16. Peter to Jude. C. Bigg.
17. John I, II, III. B. F. Westcott.
18. Revelation. (a) W. Milligan. (b) W. H. Simcox.

III. BOOKS FOR GENERAL REFERENCE.

A. CONCORDANCES.

1. Exhaustive Concordance. J. Strong.
2. Concordance to the Septuagint. E. Hatch.
3. Concordance to the Greek Testament. Moulton and Gedue.

B. DICTIONARIES.

1. Dictionary of the Bible. J. D. Davis.
2. Dictionary of the Bible. J. Hastings. 4 vols.
3. Dictionary of the Bible. C. R. Barnes.

C. ENCYCLOPÆDIAS.

1. Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. McClintock and Strong. 12 vols.
2. The Jewish Encyclopædia. I. Singer. 12 vols.
3. [Encyclopædia Biblica. Cheyne and Black. 4 vols.]

PAUL'S ADVICES TO TITUS—PROLOGUE: TITUS 1, 1-4.

We are inclined to study Paul's doctrinal epistles so constantly that we are in danger of forgetting his ethical teachings and his pastoral letters. He was a pastor of pastors. His letters to Timothy and Titus should be studied by ministers with the reverence due to the words of so great a master. Surely the chief of the apostles was abundantly fitted to give instruction to a young minister.

We propose to follow Paul in his letter to Titus, and to draw from it the lessons which it seems to convey to us. The teachings of the apostle Paul, inspired as they were of God, are adapted not only to his own time, but to ours; and his advices to a young minister of that age are equally helpful to those of our own time.

Paul begins his letter to Titus, which is both a personal and official letter, as usual with a salutation and personal greeting. He begins by a description of himself: "Paul, a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ." It is different from the salutation in Romans. It is sufficiently similar to say that it is the same Paul who wrote both, and yet sufficiently distinct to indicate that he is writing under different conditions. He styles himself "a servant of God." In no other place does he give himself this designation. In Rom. i, 1, he calls himself "a servant of Jesus Christ." In both cases he uses the word "servant" in a sense of absolute servitude. He designates himself as a bond servant, a slave. God is here declared to be his master, to whom his allegiance and obedience are due. In writing his general letter to the Romans and his personal letter to Titus he calls himself a slave. What humility is here shown in the chief of the apostles! It is becoming in all ministers to recognize their dependence on God, as Paul does in the beginning of this epistle. But he does not stop here; his office has dignity as well—"and an apostle of Jesus Christ." He has been designated by Jesus Christ as his ambassador. He is not merely a slave sent on his mission by his superior, but he is an "envoy" of his Lord, one who is to represent Jesus Christ; hence he can speak with authority. He can stand before kings and mighty men and women, with humility, and yet with holy boldness which becomes one who is an ambassador of Christ. He is here set forth in the two aspects of all truly great men—humility and dignity. "According to the faith of God's elect." This is a fuller statement of his apostleship. His apostleship in this instance was to establish the elect in the faith. There is no need to emphasize the word "elect" in this place as though the apostle had in his mind the doctrine of election to eternal life, as determined before the foundation of the world. It is rather a designation of Christians. His elect, his saints, his followers, are largely convertible terms, designating the forms of address familiar to those to whom he was writing. The purpose of the apostleship as here indicated is not, as has been suggested, to "produce faith in God's elect," but to confirm the Cretans in it. The fact that they are represented

as "elect" involves the fact that faith in them had already been begun, however imperfect its outward expression.

The next clause is a further indication of his apostleship: "and the knowledge of the truth which is according to godliness." If the same form of rendering is assigned to the phrase "according to godliness" which has been employed for the similar usage of the Greek in the phrase "according to the faith," the clause will express the fact that his apostleship was for the advancement of the knowledge of the truth which is conducive to godliness. What that truth is we know from other parts of Paul's writings. The truth in his view was the Gospel. "O foolish Galatians, who did bewitch you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified?" This contains what Paul understood to be at the heart of his teaching. He expresses this primary truth again in that familiar passage, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is a fact worthy of attention that the truth which the apostle proclaims is that which is found in the Scriptures, to which he added the special revelations of interpretation and of enlargement which had been specially given to him by his Lord. The study of the truth, as preached by the apostle, and well understood by Titus, may well engage the attention of the young minister of to-day.

Verse 2. "In hope of eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, promised before times eternal." The words "in hope" (*ἐν ἐλπίδι*) may be rendered "upon hope;" that is, the truth which is after godliness has its foundation "in hope of eternal life." This hope has been in the world from the beginning. It was promised "before times eternal" (*πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων*). It was clearly taught from the Scriptures that God's purpose to give men his blessings, of which eternal life is the central and all-inclusive one, antedates the creation of the world, indeed, it was eternally present in his thought.

Verse 3. "But in his own seasons manifested his word in the message, wherewith I was intrusted according to the commandment of God our Saviour." This eternal life purposed beforetime was revealed in the progress of history, and at such seasons as were in harmony with God's great plans, "in his own seasons" (*καιροῖς ἰδίοις*). The message with which Paul was intrusted was the Gospel. It was given him according to the commandment of God. Paul was especially commissioned to be the ambassador of the truth which is in Jesus. The appearance of Christ on the way to Damascus, the visions recorded in 2 Cor. xii, 1-9, and other instances, show that Paul was specially commissioned for the great work of proclaiming the Gospel to universal humanity. He was not a self-constituted apostle, but he designates himself as a "called" apostle, and was the bearer of a divine message with divine authority.

Verse 4. "To Titus, my true child after a common faith: Grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Saviour." Titus was Paul's son in the Gospel, as well as Timothy, but his relationship was manifestly not so intimate. He was not until a late period the

companion of Paul, and yet he was his trusted friend; and one in whose abilities as an administrator he had entire confidence. It has been suggested that the Epistle to Titus is slightly more formal than those to Timothy. The designation of Titus would almost disprove this latter statement. He calls him 'mine own son,' according to the King James Version; but the Revised Version more exactly says "my true child" (γνήσιον τέκνον). The historical references to him are too few to enable us to give a full delineation of his character and work. Conybeare and Howson mention traditions concerning him, but they are not to be depended on as authoritative: "There is some interest in mentioning the traditionary recollections of him which remain in the island of Crete. One Greek legend says that he was the nephew of a proconsul of Crete, another that he was descended from Minos. The cathedral of Megalo-Castron on the north of the island was dedicated to him. His name was the watchword of the Cretans, when they fought against the Venetians who came under the standard of St. Mark. The Venetians themselves, when here, seemed to have transferred to him part of that respect which, elsewhere, would probably have been manifested for Mark alone. During the celebration of several great festivals of the Church the response of the Latin clergy of Crete, after the prayer for the Doge of Venice, was *Sancte Marce, tu nos adjuva*; but, after that for the Duke of Candia, *Sancte Tite, tu nos adjuva*." There is no mention of Titus in the Acts of the Apostles, and yet he accompanied Paul and Barnabas in their visit to the Jerusalem council (Gal. ii, 1). He was active in promoting the collection which had been ordered from the Gentile churches for the poor saints at Jerusalem. This was a difficult task, one requiring great tact and discretion. In 2 Cor. viii, 6, Paul says, "Insomuch that we exhorted Titus, that as he had made a beginning before, so he would also complete in you this grace also." The grace here referred to is the contribution of the churches of Macedonia to the fund for the Jerusalem saints. Paul had left him in Crete to oversee the affairs of the Church, which had evidently fallen into confusion and needed a guiding hand, and he sends him this letter for his encouragement and instruction. Titus has also been identified with Justus, mentioned in Acts xviii, 7. This suggestion, however, is the result of similar conditions and is destitute of an historical foundation. The important consideration, however, for our exposition is that he was the chief pastor of the churches of Ephesus under St. Paul's special direction, and that this letter was the counsels and directions of the apostle to one in whom he had entire confidence, and whom he loved as his "true child." It is to be noted in this passage that the Revised Version omits "mercy" in this salutation. Instead of "Grace, mercy, and peace," as in the ordinary version, we have "Grace and peace." This expresses the usual wish of the apostle as found in his other letters. Grace is the divine favor which he would have them enjoy, and peace the sense of that favor in their hearts. What richer blessings could the apostles

wish upon them than this twofold manifestation of divine love? What abundant good will is manifested in the word "grace"! What rich comforts are embodied in the word "peace"! The wealth of this wish is especially manifest in his statement of the source from which they flow, "from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Saviour." It is worthy of note that grace and peace are stated to have their origin alike in God, who is set forth under the appellation of Father, and in Christ Jesus, who is designated as our Saviour, implying the equality of the Father and Son.

The homiletic uses of this introduction to Paul's letter to Titus are apparent. We may notice first the specific aspect under which Paul's apostolic mission is represented, namely, to advance the Christians in faith and in the knowledge of the Gospel. We have assumed that these passages refer more directly to the Christians in Crete than to his general apostolic mission. We have here, then, a clear revelation of the obligation of the minister to the church over which he is placed, namely, to confirm them in the faith, and to enlarge their knowledge of divine things. How great a work is this! There should ever be an increase in these two aspects of the Christian life. There is no standing still in our religious experience. There must be constant growth or there will be spiritual death. The minister is not successful unless in these particulars his congregation is constantly advancing. Second, eternal life is the great hope of the ages. It is this which fills the whole range of Gospel thought. "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." We must recognize this as the great foundation on which we must build our Christian teaching. Third, the Gospel is ever being unfolded in the progress of history. To make it known was the function of apostolic preaching and has been the business of all true preachers. It is not a new Gospel which we proclaim, but we get from time to time new views of its depth, of its scope, and of its application, and these furnish fresh materials for the preacher's work. Fourth, the affectionate appellation with which Titus is addressed: "My true child after a common faith." The bond of a common faith is like that of natural relationship in its tenderness. We scarcely appreciate the true value of our common faith. It binds communities together in relations well-nigh as close as the family tie; it gives a welcome in a strange land, so that one feels at home in any country where he finds a fellow-Christian; it gives unity and efficacy to Christian work, because they know they are serving a common Lord. It promotes the martyr-spirit, and under its inspiration thousands have died together rather than surrender their faith. Well does Paul call Titus his "true child" because of this close bond of sympathy. How many besides the apostle have had this feeling toward some tenderly loved disciple.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH**THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.**

ONE of the oldest, if not the oldest, books yet discovered is that known to the English reader as *The Book of the Dead*. It has been known for a long time to European scholars, if not by the above title, by some other of similar import. It has been published in English, French, German, and Italian by students of archæology in the countries where these languages are spoken. Champollion issued a very imperfect copy, or rather selections from it, under the title *Rituel Funéraire*. Then came a more perfect edition by De Rouge, also styled *Rituel Funéraire*. This was followed by Lepsius's great work, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter*. Other editions, more or less complete, followed at long intervals. Of these, the works of Birch, Naville, Renouf, Pierret, and Budge deserve especial attention by all those interested in the fascinating study of comparative religions. Renouf was cut down before completing his critical edition of *The Book of the Dead*, but it is gratifying to know that the veteran Egyptologist, Naville, has undertaken to finish the work.

The last and best edition yet published in any language is that by Dr. Budge, well and favorably known to archæologists, and more especially to those devoted to Egyptology, not only by his numerous works, but also as the keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum. The work is issued by the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, in three handy and pretty volumes, at a cost of less than four dollars for the complete set. This places it within reach of almost every pastor and Bible class teacher in the land. This edition consists of an English translation of the Theban recension, supplementary chapters, appendixes, abridged copies, or, rather, selections from the book at different periods in Egyptian history. There is, besides, an introduction of nearly one hundred pages and a very large number of footnotes, introducing the reader to the Egyptian Pantheon, explaining the offices and functions of the numerous gods. The introduction, concise and generally clear, in places apparently contradictory, is nevertheless a veritable mine of valuable information regarding the growth and development of religious beliefs in all periods of Egypt's history. The information contained in the introduction and notes is of inestimable value to every student of the Bible who cares to become acquainted with the religious ideas prevailing in the valley of the Nile centuries before Abraham left his native Ur—ideas which must have been well known to Moses and Aaron before a single line of the Pentateuch was penned by the great Hebrew legislator. Another very valuable

feature of this edition is the copious use of illustrations. Of these there are four hundred and twenty vignettes taken from the best papyri and monuments, depicting various funeral rites and scenes, and thus throwing often more light upon the religious faith of the people than the texts themselves, which are sometimes very obscure and defy any rendering. Dr. Budge does not profess to give an absolutely correct translation. This, owing to the mutilated state of some texts, is impossible. Some of them are so corrupt as to defy deciphering, to say nothing of translating. Nevertheless, the excellence of this edition is vouched for by the fact that it is the work of Dr. Budge, who is one of the few great scholars, and the peer of any in this department of learning. No man living has greater facilities than he for studying, deciphering, and interpreting the ancient monuments of Egypt. It is a well-known fact that the "collection of objects from the tombs of Egypt which has been gradually brought together during the nineteenth century in the British Museum is the largest and most varied collection in Europe. It comprises mummied bodies, mummy cases and coffins, and furniture for the funeral and the tomb; articles of dress and food, and of occupation and amusement, deposited by the living for the use or solace of the beloved dead in the last long journey or in the new life; figures of the protecting gods, and amulets prescribed by the religious belief of the people; and a multitude of miscellaneous objects which for one reason or another found their way into the sepulchral chambers and have thus come down to us so marvelously well preserved." *The Book of the Dead*, though a sacred book, is not to be compared to the Hebrew or Christian Scriptures. It is in no sense, as some have ignorantly claimed, "the Bible of the ancient Egyptians." Indeed, the very title, *Book of the Dead*, is somewhat misleading. Nevertheless, it is now too late to attempt a change of name. The Egyptians themselves styled this collection of texts, at least as early as B. C. 2000, REU NU PERT EM HRU, which may be translated "Book of Going Out in Daytime," or "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day." As already stated, these chapters contain mostly hymns of praise to the gods, prayers for the safety of the deceased on his dangerous journeys in the realms beyond the grave, and magic formulas to aid the dead to conquer his enemies, serpents, and ferocious beasts, to obtain food and comfort, to preserve his mummy from decay and mishap in the nether world. The texts here collected are from the walls of pyramids and tombs, from sarcophagi, coffins, mummy cases, amulets and papyri found in coffins or tombs, as well as on the bandages around mummies or deposited in some way on the body itself. The object of these texts was to secure the well-being of the soul on the way to the *Sekhet-hetepet*, or Elysian fields. The way thither, though beset with untold dangers, could yet be avoided and overcome by a faithful recital of the texts committed to memory during life, or, in case that had been neglected, read from the papyri with which the dead

was provided. Many of the chapters are very crude and nonsensical; others again breathe the spirit of true piety and lofty morality. Nothing surpassing them, excepting the Bible, has come down to us from any ancient people. The evident contradictions, the many repetitions, and the variety of styles can be explained by the fact that *The Book of the Dead* is not the product of one age, but contains the ideas and beliefs proclaimed by various schools and priests at different centers of worship and throughout many centuries.

The Book of the Dead contains but few directions for holy living in this world; it is almost exclusively concerned with the next. We must not, however, conclude that the ancient Egyptians were indifferent to a life of purity and benevolence here below. The so-called "Negative Confessions" are wonderful for their comprehensiveness. All the dead had to appear in the judgment hall of Osiris. The vignettes representing this scene are among the most interesting of any on the Egyptian monuments. *The Book of the Dead* knows nothing of a general judgment; on the other hand, every soul was judged separately, soon after death, by Osiris and forty-two other gods, who acted as jurors. The heart of the deceased was carefully weighed in a large balance, or scales of the old-fashioned type. The heart was placed in one pan, and a feather, emblem of truth and right, was placed in the other. The weighing was superintended by Thoth, the scribe of the gods. Now if the heart stood the test the soul was declared pure and was permitted to begin at once the long journey toward the abode of the blessed; if, on the other hand, the deceased was found wanting, he was at once devoured by Ammit, a huge and ungainly-looking monster, which stood in readiness at the scales. Ammit is described in the papyrus of Hu-nefer as having the head of a crocodile, the body of a lion, while the lower extremities were those of a hippopotamus. With this corresponds the representation in the vignettes. The term Ammit means devourer of the dead. The question asked of the deceased at the judgment, as well as his confessions made by him, were many and far-reaching, showing clearly that conscience played a very prominent part in the earliest civilization of the world. This is seen by the following taken at random from the chapter in question: The deceased declares: "I was not perfidious. I did not make my relatives unhappy. I did not abuse my slave. I did not cause hunger or weeping. I did not tamper with scales. I did not steal. I did not lie. I did not kill. I did not cause others to kill. I did not commit adultery nor self-pollution. I did not rob the gods of their offerings. I did not injure or kill the sacred cattle. I did not plunder the temples," etc., etc. Then the presiding judge (Osiris) says: "There is no evil or pollution in him, there is no accusation against him, he lives on truth, he feeds on truth, he gave bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, garments to the naked, and a boat to him who needed one." The other forty-two gods, being next satisfied, chime in with Osiris in the following

chorus: "He has not sinned, neither hath he done evil against us. It shall not be allowed Ammit to prevail over him. Meat offerings and entrance into the presence of the god (Osiris) shall be granted him together with a homestead forever in the *Fields of Peace*." The Egyptian's idea of heaven was crude. The blessed soul was to be occupied in the next world, much as the happy man here on earth, with congenial labors, similar to those in the present life. Material pleasures and enjoyments of a carnal nature were to continue. His home was to be in a land of incomparable fertility. Even the amusements of earth were to continue. He was to meet his father, mother, wife, children, and near relatives.

It does not appear that the ancient Egyptians had a profound conviction of the exceeding sinfulness of sin. Thus like our modern rationalists he had no place in his creed for the doctrines of repentance, regeneration, redemption from sin, or a Saviour.

There are three recensions of *The Book of the Dead*: (1) The Heliopolitan, (2) the Theban, and (3) the Saïte. The Heliopolitan is the shortest and oldest, and exists in two styles of writing: the hieroglyphic proper and the cursive hieroglyphic. This recension is copied from the tombs of Sakkara and dates back to the fifth and six dynasties, though the cursive belongs to the eleventh and twelfth dynasties. The Theban recension takes its name from Thebes, the principal seat of the Amen-Ra worship. In substance this is the same, only greatly expanded or developed, as the Heliopolitan. It covers the period from the eighteenth to the twenty-second dynasties. It is written on coffins and on papyri. The Saïte takes its name from Saïs. This is the recension used during the Ptolemaic period, and is the last and completest form of *The Book of the Dead*. It is written in three styles of writing: Hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic, or popular, characters. The most beautiful copies are those of the Theban period. Some of them are very beautifully executed on fine papyri, reaching the enormous length of ninety feet or more, with a width of from twelve to eighteen inches. They are written in black ink, with titles, initial letters, and emphasized passages in red. They are further decorated with vignettes; of these, many are in bright colors, which, strange to say, have maintained their brightness and freshness to this day.

The origin of this wonderful book is not clear. It may be of composite origin, partly Egyptian and partly Asiatic. It is probable that some portions of the chapters are of predynastic times, composed even before the art of writing was invented. There is evidence that parts of the book were unintelligible to copyists as early as B. C. 3500. The oldest copy on papyrus yet discovered is that of Hu-nefer, about B. C. 1600. This copy assigns parts of the book to the first dynasty. Like all sacred books it had a gradual growth, and exhibits additions and emendations everywhere. Complete copies commenced to become plentiful in the Saïte period, or about B. C. 700.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Ludwig Ihmels. It is but recently that he has risen to prominence as a writer and thinker; but to-day he holds an acknowledged place. In a work published in 1901, entitled *Die christliche Wahrheitsgewissheit, ihr letzter Grund und ihre Entstehung* (The Assurance of the Truth of Christianity, Its Ground and Origin), he proves himself a man of real critical power and constructive ability. He maintains that whatever certainty attaches to Christian teaching must be primarily the certainty of experience and of faith in regard to an historical revelation. It is not founded on an aggregate of doctrinal statements, but upon the fact of our communion with God. This makes the certainty of Christian truth and the assurance of personal salvation inseparable facts. The assurance of communion with God can be attained only through the action of God upon the soul in such a way as to compel its acceptance as of divine origin. But while it is the certainty of experience it is also the assurance of faith, since the impression upon which the experience rests can, in the nature of the case, be received only in faith. The presupposition is that God himself awakens our faith by a revelatory act. The taking up into present experience of the past act or series of acts by which God revealed himself can be accomplished only by the aid of the testimony of the receivers of that past revelation, as this testimony is given in the Scriptures. But the Scripture writings have this peculiarity, that they are the product of the Holy Spirit and by the Holy Spirit are so impressed on the individual as to become to him the word of God. The order is not that the Christian is assured of the word of God as authoritative and then deduces the assurance of the truth of its contents. Rather must the contents of the Scripture be given to us in experience as the word of God by creative power. And this creative power is felt first of all in the sense of sin which the Scripture produces upon its readers. These may indeed have from the first a natural consciousness of sinfulness, but only the combination of holiness and love revealed in the Gospel can produce the experience of sin's awfulness as known to the Christian. This is followed by the impression of the saving love of God. The double experience of God as Judge and God as Saviour is a miracle, and by it the Christian is assured that the Scripture is the word of God. Ihmels is of the opinion that this proof of the truth of the contents of the Scripture is at the same time the proof to the Christian that in the Holy Scriptures we have the divinely wrought, original, and for all time valid testimony concerning the historical

revelation of God to man. This assurance or knowledge differs from the knowledge of natural things in that it is directed to the will rather than the intellect, and the judgment that the Christian religion is no delusion arises from the activity of the will in accordance with the revelation of God. Nor is there unusual danger of self-deception here. Our certainty is indeed subjective; but all certainty is of the same kind. Nevertheless, the certainty has also objective validity, as may be seen in the application to it of the criterion of universal validity. First, the actual experience of people of the most diverse times and races is a strong support to our faith. Second, the universal validity of Christian experience is supported by the fact that it can be repeated; not, indeed, in the sense of an experiment, but through the providences of our life, the answer to prayer, and in other ways. Third, its universal validity is proved by the fact that without it the full development of the human being is impossible. This brief outline of Ihmels's views shows that he has thought through the problem he handles with so much skill.

W. Wrede. He has recently published his views on the Gospel according to Mark in a book entitled *Das Messiasgeheimniss in den Evangelien* (The Messianic Mystery in the Gospels), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1901. He allows that Mark is the earliest gospel, but claims that it, like the fourth gospel, is doctrinal rather than historical in character. His view is that Mark is giving us a construction of the life of Jesus which is based on the resurrection of Jesus, not on the real events in the life of Jesus. He calls attention to the several peculiarities of Mark's gospel to show that while Mark desired to portray Jesus as he was he could not because the Messiahship of Jesus was hidden in mystery until after the resurrection. For example, Jesus forbade those whom he healed as well as his own disciples to make known his works and his character to the people. His parables also, while designed to accommodate the desires of the people for instruction, really hid the thought of Jesus from the masses, and only the disciples were permitted to understand their true significance. Furthermore, the very fact that the demons, supernatural beings, alone recognized his Messiahship is a proof that this was secret. Then again, the disciples failed to understand the prophecies of Jesus concerning his suffering, death, and resurrection, showing that they did not grasp his Messianic mission. Besides, the disciples failed to appreciate the significance of many of the sayings and doings of Jesus. For example, upon the feeding of the multitude they still failed to confide fully in him, and grossly misunderstood his reference to the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod. All these evidences of the hidden Messiahship of Jesus Wrede conceives of as organic parts of the thinking of Mark, and undertakes to show that in Matthew and Luke there are evidences of a distinct aban-

donment of the standpoint of Mark, and thus attempts to prove his priority. Wrede is of the opinion that the above-mentioned data cannot possibly be explained out of the actual words and deeds of Jesus, and that Mark himself, in ix, 9, indicates that the portraiture of Jesus is to follow, not precede, the resurrection. Moreover, he thinks that Mark really looked upon Jesus as supernatural, as truly before the resurrection as subsequently; but that the supernatural and the incomprehensible are necessarily associated. Strange as it may seem, Wrede draws from this very fact the conclusion that Mark was not attempting to write history, but to set forth a theory, according to which the real facts concerning Jesus were hidden from the disciples as well as from the people at large. Just because Jesus was conceived of as a supernatural being Mark could not have meant to report a development in the self-consciousness of Jesus. For the same reason there was no gradual comprehension of Jesus on the part of the disciples. Hence the attempt to write a history of Jesus is futile. In answer it must be said that, allowing Jesus to be a supernatural being, there is still room for his gradual apprehension of his own nature and mission, since he was placed under human limitations. And, while it must be admitted that the disciples did not fully realize the nature and mission of Jesus until after the resurrection, it is still readily conceivable that some approach to the truth dawned upon their minds, and that this insight grew more clear with the years of their association with him.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Die Versagung der kirchlichen Bestattungsfeier, ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und gegenwärtige Bedeutung (The Refusal of Churchly Burial, Its Historical Development and Present Significance), by W. Thümmel, Leipzig, 1902, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. That anyone should be denied the offices of the Church in connection with his burial seems strange to the average American. Here is a book that will at least show the origin and development of the custom, and in some measure justify it. Early in the Church's history the theory arose that the funeral service was designed to testify to the continuance after death of the fellowship of the deceased with Christ, and through this also with the Church. In other words, the funeral service was designed only for the members of the Church, and for them only in one aspect. In a short time after this idea became established it was customary to celebrate the mass as a means of salvation for the deceased; and the withholding of this, which was the principal part of the service, was regarded as a penalty for violations of ecclesiastical propriety during life. This idea became so firmly fixed in the minds of the people that one who was under the ban

of the Church was refused any burial whatever, during part of the Middle Ages. The reformers did away with all this in the Churches of the Reformation, but still held to the right and even the duty of the Church to withhold its offices under certain circumstances. During the period of the so-called orthodoxism the German Church held that its funeral services were in the nature of an ecclesiastical honor paid to the memory of the deceased, and as a consequence these were refused to nonmembers and especially to members who were under official disapprobation. Thümmel defends the withholding of the offices of the Church, even in this day, from certain classes, not as a penalty, nor even in order to affect the living for good, but because to grant those offices would, in some cases, degrade the Church in the sight of the world. He thinks that if the refusal of churchly burial is made with proper precautions and proper caution the Church will gain thereby in power. And it must be said that too often the Church is simply made use of in connection with funerals to lend a respectability to them which neither the deceased nor their surviving friends could otherwise secure. Still, whatever may be the motives of those about to die or of their surviving relatives in requesting the services of the clergy at funerals, the clergy themselves must recognize in the request an acknowledgment that, after all, the Church does have something superior to offer. Besides, if the services are properly conducted, no sanction need be given either to wickedness, irreligion, or disregard of the Church, but they may be made occasions of religious impression, if not of instruction, which the Church cannot afford to neglect. The ecclesiastical burial may have been legitimate enough in its origin. At a time when Christianity was opposed and persecuted the Church must provide for the burial of its own dead. The error arose in connection with the exclusiveness which could tolerate the thought that when Christianity had conquered the world no one had any rights or any claim upon the Church's regard who had withdrawn or been excluded from its membership. It is a sad history, but sadder still is the fact that there are whole sections of the Christian Church which adhere to the unchristian custom.

Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung. Eine logische Einleitung in die historischen Wissenschaften (The Limitations of the Process of Generalization in Natural Science. An Introduction to the Historical Sciences from the Standpoint of Logic). By Heinrich Rickert. Tübingen, 1902, J. C. B. Mohr. If originality in conception and execution can give a book an effectual place in theological literature this book will be a success. The author is fully persuaded that in our time there is no proper understanding of the true nature of historical science, and that this defect is one of the most injurious to our philosophy.

It offers itself as a contribution to the theory of thought (logic) and knowledge whose primary purpose is to destroy the "logical Utopia" of the universality of the application of the methods of natural science. Rickert thinks that by showing where the limits of the methods of natural science are he will discover the true nature of historical science. He accuses logic of having been hitherto, almost without exception, a logic adapted only to the investigation of problems in natural science. The generalizations of natural science are, to the author's mind, the means by which the finite mind is able at once to rise superior to the infinite multiplicity of the material world and to judge correctly of reality. The generalization is the completed result of investigation; and every effort of natural science is directed toward generalization. But the generalization is in reality nothing but insight into the inner laws of the connections of things. So that the concept of law in natural science is but a means for the unification in thought of the multifarious in fact. That which sets the limits to the generalizations of natural science is empirical reality. Since we cognize not by representations but by judgments, the cognitions of material science do not furnish an image of things, and the truth of natural science does not consist in the harmony of representations with their objects. On the contrary, the cognitions of nature are but mental transformations of objective reality, since the world as a whole does not admit of being imaged. And since on the one side reality shows us everywhere an infinite multiplicity, and on the other side a theory in natural science stands higher in proportion as it is unitary, such a theory must be perfect in proportion as it contains little of objective reality. But such a science, dealing with the most general concepts possible, does not satisfy our interest in the particular. The particular, therefore, is the peculiar material for historical cognition. Objective reality becomes history when considered with reference to the particular. This historical or particular is presented to us in the concept individual, or, in the narrower sense, the indivisible. But the historical connections in which the historical individuals belong must also be thought of as general. Here, however, the relation is that of a whole to its parts, while in natural science the individuals are considered rather as examples or instances. With natural science the object is not to establish the existence of realities, while in history the chief purpose is just this certainty of the existence of objective reality. From this brief outline of the contents of the book in question it will be seen that its author holds a very unusual theory of history. With him it is the study of the particular, whether in the realm of the subhuman or the human; with most of us history has meant the study of the human. Without all this long discussion he might have pointed out that the difference between natural science and history is that between the study of the impersonal and the personal.

The Mennonites in the German Empire. Since 1886, when the Union of Mennonite Congregations was formed, these Baptists have manifested new zeal. The General Assembly of the organization occurs every three years. Of the 75 congregations in the empire about 25 only have joined the Union, though this number includes the wealthiest. The Union proposes to expend for the next three years about 8,800 marks for general purposes, of which 1,200 marks will be devoted to the needs of the widows of their ministers, and 4,000 marks to the support of the smaller and weaker congregations, especially for the increase of pastors' salaries. The sum of 1,400 marks was appropriated for the benefit of those studying for the Mennonite ministry, and for the encouragement of religious publications. These figures seem exceedingly small, and they cause us to ask why so weak a denomination does not coalesce with some other approximately like its own.

Professor von Hertting on the Progress of Romanist Dogma.

In a recent lecture he declared that the Church has the right and is in duty bound to watch over its dogmas, but that not every measure which has been used in the past for that purpose is suitable to-day; and though he approves the Index he would have had its affairs managed somewhat differently. The great doctrinal achievements of Thomas Aquinas have been standard in Romanism since his day, but it does not follow that they will be standard always. In due course of time the form, not the substance, of these doctrines will be changed, though it should be done slowly, not by any alleged reform movements. These are curious utterances, betraying restlessness and discontent with the present situation in Romanism, yet also betraying a mortal fear of going too far. How can these desired changes come slowly when Romanism is now centuries behind the times? Slow modification simply means continued lagging.

A New Divorce Law for Italy. The Italian government proposes to present to parliament a divorce law. This intention having become known, the Roman Catholic Church has organized a protesting movement, led by the bishops and those politicians who are loyal to Romanism. Their method is the usual one of indignation meetings and appeals to members of the house of representatives. This produces a more determined effort on the part of the Liberals, who see in the proposed law an expression of modern civilization and at the same time an occasion and a means for opposing the clericals. The biblical argument from Matt. v. 32, seems to be against the Romanists. Besides, the evil results to marital purity arising from priestly celibacy are brought to bear with terrific force against the clerical party. That portion of the Italian people who still possess some power of independent judgment are at least not unwilling that a law permitting divorce should be passed.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

IN our last issue there was not room to notice the September number of the *Contemporary Review*. We revert to it now for the sake of its most valuable article, which is Professor James Orr's discussion of Dr. Fairbairn's important book, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*. The conjunction of the names of Fairbairn and Orr would lend distinction and insure value to any article. The Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, may be reckoned as the ablest Nonconformist theologian now alive in England. The book referred to is in some sense a sequel to and completion of Principal Fairbairn's previous work, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*. Foremost in *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion* is the question, What precisely is Christianity? What distinctively constitutes its essence? And that is one of the intense questions of to-day. This question lent special interest to Dr. Harnack's argument in his strong *Rectoral Address* against the proposition to abolish the separate Faculty of *Christian Theology* in German Universities and to merge it in a faculty of the *general science and history of all religions*. Harnack strenuously contends for the continuance of a Faculty of *Christian Theology* partly because of the unique place held by the Bible in religion, partly because of the unbroken duration of the history of the Old and New Testament religion for a period of over three thousand years, and partly because of the fact that Christianity can be studied to-day as a *living religion* in full vigor. (Speaking of the preeminence of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, Harnack asks, "What signifies Homer, what the Vedas, what the Koran, alongside of the Bible?") But the Berlin Professor's main reason for insisting that *Christian theology* be separately taught by a special Faculty is that "Christianity is not *one* religion along with others, but is *the* religion." And he adds:

It is *the* religion, because Jesus Christ is not *a* Master along with others, but *the* Master, and because His Gospel answers to the inborn capacity of man as history discovers it. I have argued above that it is the Bible that is the center of all the studies of the theological Faculties. More correctly, I must say: this center is Jesus Christ. What the first disciples received from Him goes far beyond the particular words and the preaching they heard from Him; and therefore what they have said about Him, and their mode of apprehending Him, exceeds His own self-witness. It could not be otherwise: these disciples were conscious that they possessed in Christ not only a Teacher, . . . they knew themselves as redeemed, new men, redeemed through Him.

Harnack's contention in brief is that Christianity is the one absolute religion, and as such has a supreme preeminence which lifts it above any dependence on the study of other religions. In agreement with

this claim, the independence, self-sufficiency, and transcendent pre-eminence of Christianity are also set forth with convincing cogency by Dr. Fairbairn, who shows that in the Religion of the Incarnation is the key to all religion and to all history; and that Christianity is not derived from other religions but is a separate divine creation, comprehending in itself the purest ideals of lower and lesser religions and carrying those ideals to their perfection in the Religion of Christ, which alone is fitted to be the really universal religion. Fairbairn shows that "the Son of God holds in His pierced hands the keys of all religions, explains all the factors of their being, and all the persons through whom they have been realized," and that the Incarnation "is the very truth which turns nature and man, and history and religion, into the luminous dwelling place of God." And he conceives of the Incarnation as essentially the same divine mystery which the Church has always believed in, the actual entrance of the Eternal Son of God into humanity and time. Recognizing that in all religion there comes to light an elementary and fundamental relation and craving without which man would not be man, Christianity is the only religion in which this universal human need and craving can find perfect satisfaction. Religion has for its correlative God, and the Perfect Religion reveals and establishes the *perfect* relation between humanity and God. Dr. Fairbairn subjects Christianity to the test of rational examination, and applies to Faith the criticism of Reason, insisting upon the necessity of intellectual interpretation and doctrinal formulations in Christianity, and holding the philosophy of Christianity to be the most convincing Christian apologetic. Professor Orr thinks it refreshing, in these days of the apotheosis of nebulousity in religion, to find such a great leader of thought as Fairbairn writing thus:

It does not lie in the power of any man or any society to keep the mysteries of the faith out of the hands of reason. . . . The only condition on which reason could have nothing to do with religion would be that it should have nothing to do with truth. . . . Here, at least, it may be honestly said that there is no desire to build Faith upon the negation of Reason; where both are sons of God it were sin to seek to make the one legitimate at the expense of the other's legitimacy. . . . Clear and sweet as the Galilean vision may be, it would, apart from the severer speculation which translated it from a history into a creed, have faded from human memory like a dream which delighted the light slumbers of the morning, though only to be so dissolved before the strenuous will of the day as to be impossible of recall. . . . It is a wholesome thing to remember that the men who elaborated our theologies were at least as rational as their critics, and that we owe it to historical truth to look at their beliefs with their eyes. . . . They (the ecumenical formulæ) may have in many respects done violence to both speculation and logic; but one thing we must confess: if the idea they tried to express as to Christ's Person had not been formulated centuries since, we should have been forced to invent it, or something like it, in order that we might have some reasonable hypothesis explanatory of the course things have taken (cf. pp. 4, 13, 17, 18, 19).

One of the fundamental philosophic problems with which Principal Fairbairn deals is the question as to the relation in which a Supernatural Personality, such as Christ is assumed to be, stands to the philosophy of nature. It is the question that presses on many minds—Is not such a conception as the Incarnation ruled out of court by its radical incompatibility with the scientific doctrine of nature? Dr. Fairbairn meets this by showing, with much wealth of illustration, that natural and supernatural are not opposed ideas—that nature can only be construed in terms of reason, and through relation to a Supreme Personal Intelligence—that it is, therefore, only rationally conceived, when viewed as “standing in and through the supernatural” (p. 56). It is the idealistic argument, by this time tolerably familiar, which Dr. Rashdall also develops in his Essay on Theism in *Contentio Veritatis*, that “there is such a correspondence between the mind and the universe, between the intelligible we think and the intellect we think by, that their relation can only be explained by identity of source, that is, by both being expressions of a single Supreme Intelligence” (p. 37). With such a postulate, the result of the examination of Darwinism in the succeeding sections, both on the “regressive” and the “aggressive” methods, is already anticipated. Personality is at the end because Personality is at the beginning: “matter cannot be defined save in terms that imply mind” (p. 49). The conclusion thus reached that nature must be conceived through the supernatural is confirmed by the study of man’s ethical nature. With Butler and Kant it is established that an ethical man means an ethical universe; and as from evolution was deduced the reasonableness of the appearance of “creative persons” in history (p. 59), so from the fact that the ethical ideal is only real as it is personalized there is inferred the possibility, and the consonance with man’s nature and God’s method of working, of a perfect Personality as the vehicle of highest good to the race. And when we find the ideal of the Perfect Man realized in Jesus Christ we *must* conceive Him as *supernatural*. The person of Christ is a stupendous miracle, indeed, in the proper sense, the sole miracle of time. And the very sinlessness of Christ, argues Fairbairn, implies miracle in His origin. When he reaches the point where he begins to construct his argument for the transcendence of the Personality of Christ, Dr. Fairbairn enters, says Professor Orr, upon

a subject in the highest degree congenial to him, and he throws his whole marvelous force of exposition and illustration into it. What he sets himself to show is that, if the apostles put this transcendent meaning and value on the Person of Christ, they were justified in doing it by the history that preceded (cf. p. 475). Nothing could be more attractive than the way in which this thesis is worked out in detail. The history in the gospels is that of a supernatural Person. It is the supernatural set in a history, the sobriety and minute realism of which prove it to be true. No ingenuity of criticism can eliminate this quality of the supernatural from it, or give verisimilitude to the hypothesis that the sublime,

stainless, most universal yet most concrete, most natural yet most divine figure it presents to us, is the creation of imagination. Christ's witness to His own Personality bears out the impression produced by the impression of His character, religion, and life. This is what we have in the case of Christ that fails us in the case of Buddha; a history which supports the divine claims made for Him by His apostles.

Professor Orr and Principal Fairbairn are stout and able defenders of such eternal truths as that Christianity is bound up essentially with the divine transcendence of the personality of Christ; that the Incarnation is a Fact, Jesus Christ a truly Divine Person—the Eternal Son of God, manifest in the flesh; that the Gospels, the apostolic Faith, and the history of mankind admit of no lower interpretation; that all history is a verification of the supernatural claims of Christ and of the interpretation given of Him by His apostles; that it is none other than the Divine Christ who has so powerfully entered into human history and been believed, loved, and obeyed as the Saviour of the world; that faith in the Divine Christ works in a miraculous way, making even true men truer when they receive it and building up the world in the love of truth and right; in a word, that Christ is *Lord*,—the Incarnate, the Living, the Exalted Redeemer and Saviour, the Head of all things for His Church and for the world.

In notice of recent books *The Contemporary* characterizes Professor William James's Gifford Lectures as a "brilliant and fascinating discussion of the psychology of religious feelings, which is not a work of Christian apologetics, though in effect a powerful argument for the reality of the spiritual world. Though Professor James classes himself as a Christian, its value for Christians lies mostly in his reliance on the deep religious instincts of mankind and his absolute and scornful rejection of materialism.

In a recent issue of the *Westminster Review*, Francis Grierson, writing of "The Blunders of Matthew Arnold," says that Arnold is the hardest and most flinty of all critics; that he emits sparks but no flame; and that his prose and poetry lack warmth and passion. His judgments are often both harsh and unintelligent.

In speaking of the love letters of Keats he blunders into a brutal criticism of a mere boy for the offense of writing passionate love letters! And again in his remarks on Shelley, he makes the astounding assertion that this poet has no influence on serious minds, and this in spite of the immense influence exerted by Shelley in his two greatest poems! In summing up the work and personality of Heine our critic spoils a fine study of the German poet by turning Philistine at the close through fear, no doubt, of being thought too liberal. Some of his judgments are not only provincial but parochial. No censure is too severe for a critic who places Georges Sand above Lamartine. But Arnold was no seer.

Mr. Grierson's charges against Arnold have four specifications—that he was not a man of the world, that he was no psychologist, that he never knew the meaning of passion, and that he could not reason from cause to effect. Writing of the superficiality and hardness of Arnold's views, the essayist says:

What some critics lack is a long period of physical suffering; what others ought to have is a long period of personal sorrow, to bring them down from that high stool of arch-respectability which is so easy to mount and so difficult to kick from under. For when they are on that stool they sit like Patience smiling with complacent superiority, not at their own grief, but at that of the whole world. A man who has never experienced the discipline of great and prolonged trials is bound to take a hasty and superficial view of life and personality. Arnold himself was ushered in on that tide of Philistinism which arrived on these shores at the passing of the romance spirit in poetry and literature. The great ones were gone—there was no Byron or Shelley; there was nothing to do but to sink back in the easy-chair of platitude and introspection, and become so eminently respectable as to be imminently reactive. There were no more social upheavals, no more poetic battles to fight and win, nothing was left but the plain hemming and stitching of the poetic patterns left by the immortal fashioners of world-ideals. Sometimes the poetic remnant was not only stitched but embroidered, for Tennyson represented one side of the poetic reaction as Matthew Arnold represented the other. People had ceased to travel and think for themselves. They sat still, like Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Arnold, in one place. It became the fashion to stay at home, live in the lap of abundance, take life easy, and weave a web of poetry to suit a plain people living in a plain age. The labor-saving, machine-made thought of the time made a nonchalant pessimist of Tennyson and purblind preacher of Arnold. And there is no escape from the fact that some of Matthew Arnold's criticisms frightened young writers and critics into a shamefaced, half-hearted, hypocritical, hang-dog attitude. Dickens, when he passed away in 1870, left a void in the world of spontaneity and sentiment. But Arnold lived and wrote for many years after the death of the great novelist; and while people were still reading Dickens no one read him for a criticism of life. Now, every young writer was compelled to read Matthew Arnold for his criticism of life. Dickens depicted character as he saw it; Arnold called up some of the brightest and best intellects of the world, and judged them without fear, favor, or common sense. He read them a verdict in the language of the hangman. And Englishmen, who boast of their moral courage and independence, were made to sit in a corner like so many schoolboys, fearing to look up or to claim their souls as their own. It is no wonder that for a period of about twenty years criticism in England was a flinty and soulless thing.

Of Arnold's defects Mr. Grierson further says:

Universality made Shakespeare; imagination and style made Milton; passion and imagination Shelley; beauty and passion Keats; passion and romance Byron; passion and humanity Burns. Matthew Arnold, as a poet, has plenty of brain and muscle, but "the blood is the life;" and his poetry lacks the crimson element. Early in youth he was taught to

use the balance pole of introspection while walking the crack of moral platitude and automatic reasoning. He crossed and recrossed the pedantic wire with such dexterity that the act became monotonous; the audience longed for a slit in the silk tights, or a sudden head-over-heels, or a sprain of the ankle, to give a human turn to the performance. But no incident of the kind ever occurred. The critic, like the poet, received the decorous applause of hands enveloped in white kids and throats incased in Victorian collars.

Arnold's narrowness is thus commented on:

His ideas of life were based on insular methods and customs. If he had spent five years of his youth in France and Germany, and five years more in America, he would have seen the world in a truer light. He knew no more of the world and its ways than he knew of psychology. He visited America when he was too old to receive any practical benefit from his visit. The academical seal was burned into his youth by a fiery discipline. With classicism on one hand, and a stiff-necked mechanical age on the other, it is no wonder that he produced criticism without literary creation and poetry without passion. Writers who live under restraint never attain the supreme. The faintest idea of fear is enough to put a damper on the creative instinct. The fear of this or that school, this or that critic, this or that belief, puts out the fire of inspiration. Arnold imitated Wordsworth, and Wordsworth imitated Milton, but Milton imitated no one. The spirit of originality and fearlessness are one. Arnold lived at a time when preaching was not yet dead and modern psychology not yet born. It was not his fault that he knew so little of the world and human nature, but it will be our fault if we continue to accept his strictures and judgments as the pronouncements of a scientific or philosophic authority.

In the *Critical Review* (London) for November, 1902, H. R. Mackintosh furnishes an excellent review of *Personal Idealism*, a volume of philosophical essays by eight members of the University of Oxford, approving especially Dr. Rashdall's striking essay on "Personality, Human and Divine," which is truly called the production of a masculine and penetrating mind, containing definite and reasoned conclusions presented with incisiveness and force. His argument is regarded as having suffered somewhat from excessive condensation. His vindication of the reality of the Self is indeed "a powerful piece of writing." One of his conclusions is that "the Absolute is a society which includes God and all other spirits." The eight inspiring dissertations all face and move in the same direction as William James's *The Will to Believe*, and taken together make a fresh and forcible volume, exhibiting, as is said, "the unwearied vigor and progressive vitality of present-day philosophy" in England; and similar vigor is displayed in the activities of the foremost philosophic minds in American universities. Dr. Mackintosh quotes a recent saying of Professor William James's: "So long as we deal with the cosmic and the general, we deal only with the *symbols* of reality, but as soon as we deal with private and personal phenomena, as such, we deal with *realities* in the completest sense of the term."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Babel and Bible. A Lecture on the Significance of Assyriological Research for Religion. Delivered before the German Emperor by Dr. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by THOMAS J. McCORMACK. Profusely illustrated. 8vo, pp. 66. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. Price, boards, 50 cents net.

The Creation Story of Genesis I. A Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony by Dr. HUGO RADAU. 8vo, pp. 70. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. Price, boards, 50 cents net.

When Austen Henry Layard and George Smith were busily engaged in utilizing the newly discovered and deciphered Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions all England was deeply stirred by the confirmations of the Old Testament Scriptures which they produced. From that day to this we have heard much of the importance of archaeology to the Christian apologist, and in quite recent times a battle royal has been fought over the question as to whether archaeology would be able to slay the dragon of Higher Criticism. But behold in these two small books specimens of a new kind of archaeology—a kind of archaeology which does not attack Higher Criticism but aids it; a kind of archaeology which does not prove the overmastering value of the Old Testament, but which tends decidedly to minimize its value. The first of these two books is a lecture which Professor Friedrich Delitzsch delivered in the "Sengakademie" of Berlin, January 13, 1902, before a large audience, with William II, German emperor, personally present. The emperor was so profoundly impressed that he commanded Professor Delitzsch to repeat the lecture on February 1, 1902, in the Royal Palace in Berlin. The object of the lecture was to arouse interest in and secure subscriptions for the great excavations at Babylon which the Orient Society was then beginning. It was promptly printed in a cheap edition and also in an *edition de luxe*, illustrated by excellent half-tones, and printed on good paper. The English translation is printed in larger type and contains nearly all the illustrations of the German original (we miss only three unimportant pictures of the recent Babylonian excavations), and also some extra illustrations, not particularly well reproduced. The translation is well done, and the English reader has before him a reasonably good opportunity to learn exactly what Delitzsch said. So much for the externals; now come we to the root of the matter. Delitzsch begins inspiringly. He asks: "Why all this expense in ransacking to their uttermost depths the rubbish heaps of forgotten centuries, where we know neither treasures of gold nor of silver exist? . . . Whence, too, that constantly increasing interest, that burning enthusiasm, born of generous sacrifice, now being bestowed on both sides of the

Atlantic on the excavations of Babylonia and Assyria? One answer echoes to all these questions—one answer which, if not absolutely adequate, is yet largely the reason and consummation of it all: *The Bible.* That is perfectly just. But for the deep and earnest desire of men to see the Bible supported, or at least illustrated, these excavations would have ceased long ago. It is well to remind the world and also to remind independent scholars of that fact now and again. It has a bearing of importance on affairs even now. After his introduction Delitzsch proceeds to cite a number of instances in which the biblical narrative has received illustration and even confirmation. It is well done, as was to be expected, but there is nothing new or exciting in it. All these Assyrian parallels to the biblical history concerning Sargon and Sennacherib and Merodach-baladan have been told hundreds of times. We are glad to have them repeated. But they only fill a small part of the little book. Let us look at some other parts of it. To begin with Criticism, we may well observe that Delitzsch emphatically takes his stand with the exponents of the analysis of the Pentateuch into documents of varying dates. Thus he says: "These are facts which from the point of view of science are as immutable as rock, however stubbornly people on both sides of the Atlantic may close their eyes to them. When we remember that minds of the stamp of Luther and Melancthon once contemptuously rejected the Copernican system of astronomy, we may be certain that the results of the scientific criticism of the Pentateuch will tarry long for recognition. Yet it is just as certain that some day they will be openly admitted." With such statements we have no quarrel at present. We quote the paragraph only to show how very different is Delitzsch in his attitude to criticism from a large number who continually assert that archaeology will destroy Higher Criticism. It is well to have the attention called sharply to the fact that in almost every case criticism and archaeology are neither enemies nor handmaids. The views of Delitzsch concerning the Pentateuchal analysis have been formed by a study of the critics and of the books of the Old Testament on which they have written. His views, in his own opinion, do not conflict with archaeology. If the views are incorrect they can only be shown to be incorrect by direct attack on the arguments used by higher critics to establish their position. Archaeology is useless for this purpose. It may be, and often is, useful in an attack upon certain extreme forms of historical criticism. For literary criticism it is useless. But we must get closer still in order to see the real significance of this little book of Delitzsch. On page 37 he says: "When the twelve tribes of Israel invaded the land of Canaan, they entered a country *which belonged absolutely to the domain of Babylonian civilization.*" In that we can discern the keynote of the book. Delitzsch believes that nearly everything which for ages has been considered a part of Israel's own peculiar possession and contribution to the world was really derived from Babylonia. He be-

gins with the Sabbath, and asserts that there can be "scarcely the shadow of a doubt that in the last resort we are indebted to this ancient nation on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris for the plenitude of blessings that flows from our day of Sabbath or Sunday rest." From this he proceeds point by point to show how first this and then that were derived from Babylonia. Finally he claims that the idea of God is Babylonian, and that the meaning of the old word El = god was originally "goal"—the goal of man's desires and hopes. And he asserts that this goal is *one*, and hence monotheism was a procession of the early Canaanites, "from whom the Israelites afterward sprang." He believes also that he has found in early Babylonian texts the words *Ia-ah-ve-ilu* and *Ia-hu-um-ilu*, which he translates, "Yahveh is God." If this be true even the divine name is Babylonian. What have we to say to this! Our reply is that we believe none of this extensive borrowing from Babylonia. We grant freely that the Old Testament does show some parallels with Babylonian literature and life, but we believe them to be comparatively few. The religion of Israel did not grow out of the Babylonian religion, but continually was opposed to it. Israel's monotheism did not come from Babylon. Delitzsch quotes the words "Yahveh is God" from an inscription of the Hammurabi period. But Hammurabi was a polytheist, and calls himself a favorite of Shamash and Marduk. His father was *Sin-muballit*, and Sin is the moon god, while his son was *Shamshu-iluna*, which means "the Sun is our god." As to the reading "Yahveh is God" we need only observe that it is too uncertain to be used to carry such tremendous consequences. It may just as well be translated "God may defend," if we read the words *Ia-a'-mi-ilu*. Or they may be read *Ia-a'-me*. Our only regret about the book is that Delitzsch wrote it. It gives far too much aid and comfort to a new school of wild criticism of which the talented Hugo Winckler is the chief exponent. The whole aim of Winckler at present seems to be to prove the utter dependence of Israel upon Babylon. The second of the books named above is written quite in Winckler's manner. Dr. Radau is an exceedingly ingenious and withal learned Assyriologist, whose book on *Early Babylonian History* we have already reviewed in this journal. His present venture is as learned as the former, and it is equally hard and technical reading. It is also disfigured by a sort of polemic that needs to be banished altogether from Assyriology. Here is a specimen of what we mean. He quotes a passage from Professor Hommel and then adds: "The nonsense that follows is too great to be reproduced here, and has, I suppose, been given up by Hommel himself." Radau is sorely mistaken if he thinks that this is either argument or reasoning or good manners. We freely admit that Hommel was wrong in the opinion quoted, but none the less was he worthy, by reason of his services to science, of respectful treatment. As to the main thesis of Radau's little book we can only say that it is too fanciful to be taken seriously.

We are accustomed to learning every little while that Israel's cosmology was derived from Egyptian or Indian or Greek or even from Irish mythology. But we are too hardened to believe in any of them. Radau has found a few more interesting and ingenious parallels, and this is all. Let us conclude this notice, which has extended too far already, with the approving quotation of a few sane and sober words of wisdom from Professor Karl Budde: "Babylonian literature may swell up into infinity, but it will have nothing to equal our prophets, nor even the historical portions of our oldest sources. Grateful as we, the representatives of Old Testament science, are to the excavations for each new ray of light and every enlargement of the scope of ancient history, we do not feel that the time has come to let our beautiful village be swallowed up overnight, so to speak, by the metropolis of Babylon; much less are we inclined to ask for this incorporation ourselves."

The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. Pp. xxii and 460. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, \$2.50.

Few theological writers have rendered more notable service to evangelical Christianity in this country than Professor Fisher, and this has been one of his most widely read and useful works. In this new edition the whole has been carefully rewritten, the order of treatment changed, important additions made, and an appendix of seventy-five pages added. The first three chapters discuss the grounds of theistic belief. Of especial interest is the elaborate treatment of the argument from design, especially as affected by the theory of evolution. The author quotes Professor Carpenter's apt statement, that "evolution simply transfers the notion of design and end from the region of facts to that of laws; that is, from the particular cases to the general plan" (p. 46). The old teleology argued from the single instance, the eye or the wing taken by itself showing evident purpose and demanding a creative mind as explanation. Evolution simply shows us creative intelligence working through a system of laws to secure gradually such ends. The strength of the teleological argument to-day is in the system. Nature, whether viewed in its present state or in its development, is a system of thoroughgoing purposefulness. Philosophical evolutionism proffers an explanation for the single instance. It has none for the system. Whether as philosophy or science, evolution must assume, as stock in trade to begin with, matter of a particular constitution, laws of this kind and the other, variability, heredity, and all the rest. It simply crowds the problem a little further back. And so we are driven to an intelligent world-ground, which so constituted matter and framed its laws as that a purposeful world should result. The strength of this work lies, however, in the discussion of the grounds of Christian belief. We note, first, a significant change in order from the former edition, by which the first place is given to

the internal argument as against that from miracles. Christianity is set forth as its own defense, in its adaptation to man, in its transforming power as seen in society, in the superiority of its teachings, in the sinless character of its founder. Ancient philosophy "shows nothing nearer to Christianity than the saying of Plato that man is to resemble God. But, on the path of speculation, how defective and discordant the conceptions of God! And even if God were adequately known, how shall the fetters of evil be broken and the soul attain its ideal? It is just these questions that Christianity meets through the revelation of God in Jesus Christ" (p. 141). Miracles have a subordinate function in apologetics. How can we expect them to accomplish to-day what they failed to do for those who saw them? And yet they have their place. When Christianity by its inner worth and character has impressed the mind, we crave some attestation of objective character, such as these afford; and as an integral component of the historical message of redemption which we accept they demand a defense (pp. 174-177). Professor Fisher does not consider miracles as mere externals used as credentials; they are "not appendages, but constituent elements of revelation." The significance of this position is not fully developed. The argument, after the traditional manner, occupies itself chiefly with the historical and philosophical case that can be made out for miracles. There is also an eminently religious, a Christian, argument that can be made for the miraculous or supernatural in the narrower sense; and while there is need to assert the historical grounds and meet the philosophical objections, there is need also to show their significance for the Christian faith and the Christian life, and their close relation to the general question of providence and prayer. The author's discussion of the historical credibility of the gospels and their authorship has been considerably enlarged. Here is the conclusion as to the synoptics: "The early formation, under the eyes and by the agency of the immediate disciples of Jesus, of an oral narrative of his sayings and of the events of his life; its wide diffusion; its incorporation into the second gospel prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, by an author who had listened to Peter; the authorship of the basis, at least, of the first gospel by the apostle Matthew; the completion of the first gospel in its present form not far from the date of the fall of the city . . . ; the composition of Luke by a Christian writer who had access to the testimony that had been set down by disciples situated like himself—these are facts which erudite and candid scholars, both German and English, whose researches entitle them to speak with confidence, unite in affirming" (p. 235). All which may be commended to those who may suppose that the conclusions of Professor Schmiedel in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* represent the historical criticism of to-day. Over one hundred pages are given to the discussion of the value of the gospels as historical sources. In making this consideration central for his apologetics Professor Fisher follows the German mediating school, under whose

great leaders, Tholuck, Mueller, and others, he sat as student in his early days. It is also true, of course, that the Pauline epistles furnish equal if not greater materials for establishing an historical basis that shall stand the severest scientific test. The historical case is even stronger for these epistles than for the gospels. It is true that Van Manen, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, denies that "Paul was a writer of epistles of any importance; least of all, of epistles so extensive and weighty as those now met with in the canon" (vol. iii, 3632). But the hypercriticism of this Dutch school is hardly to be taken seriously. Even Professor Schuerer, in a recent number of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, betrays his surprise that important New Testament articles should have been intrusted by the editor of the *Biblica* to this school of critics. The great letters of Paul are recognized as genuine by practically all students. They are probably the earliest as they are the best-attested Christian documents. And these letters not only witness to the first years of the Christian Church, but contain most important data concerning the life of our Lord. Their apologetic value from this standpoint has certainly not at yet been fully exploited. Of special value for our present situation are the two chapters on "The Relation of the Christian Faith to the Bible and to Biblical Criticism" and "The Gradualness of Revelation." The confounding of Christianity with a theory concerning the Scriptures has been a pregnant error of later Protestantism. Christianity seemed identified with the Scriptures conceived as mechanically inspired. Scholars have pointed out that this conception is a product of the early nineteenth century (compare Ritschl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Bd. 1; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, iii, 727; and Loofs, *Leitfaden*, p. 371). The general discussion in Professor Fisher's chapters is a clear and helpful statement of the relation of the Christian religion and the Christian Scriptures. Christianity, he says, is not a book, but a new spiritual creation in humanity. Revelation is historical, and "the persons and transactions through which revelation is made are anterior to the Scriptures that relate them." "Christianity was not made by the Christian Scriptures. The fundamental reality is not the Bible, it is the kingdom of God." The Scriptures are "the documents that make us acquainted with the kingdom in its consecutive stages." We have not "a naked communication let down from the skies, but an historical revelation in and through a process of redemption" (pp. 323-335, *passim*). And this perception, Dr. Fisher declares, will overcome the timidity which "springs out of the idea of Christianity as exclusively a book religion, every line in whose sacred books is clothed with the preternatural sanctity ascribed by the Mohammedan devotees to their sacred writings" (p. 335). Here is place made for legitimate historical criticism, although Professor Fisher insists, of course, that the criticism which springs from or implies the rejection of the supernatural should have neither weight nor place with us (p. 339). In its new and improved form this volume will have a continued

and increased usefulness. It is the ripe fruit of a scholar who has combined learning, thoroughness, and the true scientific method with a positive and evangelical spirit, that showed a heart-appreciation of the interests involved. Such work ministers equally to the advancement of truth and the welfare of the Church. Dr. Fisher's own spirit and attitude are obviously indicated in his choice of the theologian and biblicist to whom he dedicates his book, and also in the language used in the dedication: "To William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Canon of Christ Church, whose writings are an example to contemporary scholars of thorough investigation and faultless candor." We heartily agree with the following just tribute to an ideal ecclesiastical historian: "Professor Fisher is a recognized authority in the domain of ecclesiastical history. He is so partly because of his ripe scholarship, but still more because of his scientific temperament. He has neither the audacity of a pioneer who cares only for new worlds nor the timidity of the traditionalist who is never willing to depart from his old habitat. The new fashion in thought neither fascinates nor repels him by its novelty. He at once takes it up for a careful and critical examination. He has peculiar ability, partly temperamental, partly acquired by long practice, in examining, sifting, balancing arguments *pro* and *con*. Had he given himself to medicine, he would have been a consulting physician; if to politics, a mediating statesman, not too radical to move slowly, not so conservative as not to move at all; if to law, his place would have been on the Supreme Court Bench. One goes to such a man, not for the latest word that has been spoken in philosophy, but for the latest word which philosophy has accepted as established. The reader may be sure that he will not find belated arguments redressed in modern phraseology on behalf of an ancient traditionalism, nor a fascinating plea for a hypothesis attractive chiefly because it is novel. What he will find is a well-considered statement of conclusions which the most judicial criticism regards as demonstrated."

The Christian Ministry. Its Origin, Scope, Significance, and End. By W. T. DAVISON, D.D. 16mo, pp. 65. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cloth, 15 cents.

This is the ordination charge delivered to the young ministers received into full connection in the English Wesleyan Conference last summer. Bishop Vincent, being "profoundly impressed by the force, the wisdom, the tenderness, and the rhetorical excellence of the address," has procured its republication by our Book Concern, in order that our young ministers especially may study from an English Wesleyan point of view the origin, scope, significance, and end of the Christian ministry. The subject is studied in the light of Paul's words in Eph. iv, 11, 12. The ministry is set forth as a gift of Christ to his Church for the promotion of the loftiest conceivable end, and this end is the perfect realization of Christ's

ideal for the individual, for the Church, and for all mankind; for the achievement of his own consummate likeness in each and all. We have space only for what Dr. Davison says about the various offices and functions of this ministry, as indicated in Paul's comprehensive enumeration: "*Prophets*: are they obsolete, extinct? Did they indeed disappear with the second or third generation of believers? Are we to think of them as men whose special function was to predict, or rather, as 1 Cor. xiv, 24, shows, men of exceptional spiritual insight and power of utterance, able to sound the unbelieving heart, so that one who enters the Christian assembly and hears them speak will 'fall down on his face and worship God, declaring that God is among you indeed'? Shall prophets be lacking to-day in Christ's Church? Is not this one of Christ's most direct and necessary gifts, that of men with power to discern spirits, to read the signs of the times, to turn the searchlight of divine truth into the crannies of the human heart, and on all the devious paths of human life; men with power to bring directly home to the human spirit, as if God himself were speaking, the weight and mystery of eternal things? The prophet is needed amongst us to-day. Brethren, covet earnestly the best gifts, but rather that you may prophesy. And remember, that in order to rise to this highest function, you must sink yourself to the very lowest. The man who 'speaks from his own heart' sees nothing. The true seer is he before whose eyes no scales of earth and self and sin are set to prevent the clear vision of God; one who is quick to catch the accents of the divine voice, his ear awakened morning by morning to listen, and his tongue taught day by day, as the tongue of the learned, how to speak a word in season to him that is weary. *Evangelist* was in the early days the name of an itinerant missionary of the Gospel, and the word has kept much of its old connotation. But in these later times, woe to that Church in which evangelism becomes the monopoly of the few, or the badge of a mere section of ministers. Every minister is to have the heart of an evangelist, and every Methodist preacher is, or ought to be, a home missionary. For consider. An evangelist is a man who is prompt to carry the glad tidings of the Gospel to those who need it, and in what part of what country are none such to be found? Many of these are living close by our side, moving unsuspected at our very doors. Those who need the Gospel do not all dwell in slums or wear rags. Never yield to the wretched delusion that your ministry has 'got beyond' this elementary but all-pervading function. You can never get beyond it. In your sermons, your Sunday school addresses, your private conversation, as well as in your open-air services, make the glad tidings of salvation known! Do not assume that men know all about the Gospel, or do not need its Gospel. In season and out of season, with no mere professional demeanor or cant phrases, but in a bright, cheerful, helpful spirit, be an evangelist! Carry the message of God's love in Christ to sinful men as

one which is continually passing afresh through the mint of your own experience and prove it to be current gold. Evangelize! First, last, middle, without end! It is work that never tires him who speaks, or him who listens, if it be rightly done. In 2 Tim. iv, 5, 'Do the work of an evangelist' is synonymous with 'fulfill thy ministry,' and the word is applied in the New Testament to all classes of Christian workers except the apostles, and they were evangelists above everything. *Pastors* and *teachers* are generally understood to be two names referring to one class. The two kinds of work indicated go together; they supplement each other, sometimes overlap each other. 'Pastor' takes us back to Christ's words to Peter in John xxi, 'Feed my lambs, tend my sheep, feed my sheep,' and it includes all kinds of attendance to all parts of the flock. You are bidden, in the words of the Ordinal, 'to teach and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are scattered abroad, and for his children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ forever.' Distinguish between a shepherd and—ugly word and awful thing—a hireling! A minister who professes to fulfill his duty by merely preaching sermons at times appointed, without looking after his people, is a hireling, not a shepherd. It is not a question of paying so many visits a week—though a definite record of the number of visits actually paid is useful, and often admonitory—it is the *caring* for the people, as an Eastern shepherd cares for his sheep, as Christ has cared for us. You may visit without caring; you cannot care without visiting. All is wrapped up in the having a shepherd's heart—the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. *Teachers*—but can we teach? Have we something to teach besides hearsays, something besides the Gospel alphabet, besides the 'fourth standard,' that almost every child in the Christian school has reached? How far are we beyond our highest pupils? Have many of them outdistanced us long ago? Brethren, you are to be teachers. Do you know the Bible? In the original tongues, well; but in the English tongue, do you *know* this Book of books? Do you know its less-trodden ways? Can you repeat from it at large and accurately? Can you give references freely, the substance of chapters and books readily? Histories, prophets, psalms, gospels, epistles? Tell me that you have traveled over a continent, and I will believe you, though it takes some journeying to do that even in these days; but you must be a traveler indeed if you know all the cities and villages in all the countries of this continent. Make it your aim to know the Bible through and through; wherever you are weak, be mighty in the Scriptures, and as a Christian minister you will never lack the power to teach. You must learn to know men also; but on this I will not enlarge. Two books are ours—the Bible and human nature—and alas for us, we know neither as they ought to be known. Lord, teach us to know thee and to know ourselves; to know thy Book and to know thy children

inside and outside thy Church—and then we shall be teachers indeed. The spirit of a prophet, the heart of an evangelist, the soul of a pastor, the mind of a teacher—these are the high qualifications which ought to characterize the Christian minister of to-day. Who is sufficient for these things? Thanks be to God who makes us sufficient, as ministers of a new covenant; not of the letter which killeth, but of the spirit which giveth life." The whole address, or sermon, is strong, clear, stimulating.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Meditations of an Autograph Collector. By ADRIAN H. JOLINE. Crown 8vo, pp. 316. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$3.

Not a few people have the passion for autograph collecting which Ik Marvel in his *American Lands and Letters* refers to as "that dreadful fever." Others have called it "an amiable folly." It may sometimes annoy persons of prominence, whose signatures are sought, but it is an innocent pastime for the leisure intervals of a working life. Who was it said, "Man is an animal which collects"? The author thinks "it must have been Andrew Lang, for he says most things nowadays." There was a distinguished Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States who used to collect almanacs, even those of Ayer and Josh Billings. To the autograph collector this is one response: "Dear Sir: Mr. Weller's friend would say that 'autographs is wanity;' but since you wish for mine, I subscribe myself faithfully yours, J. A. Froude." Russell Lowell spoke of the autograph album as "an instrument of torture unknown even to the Inquisition," and adds: "I am thinking seriously of getting a good forger from the State's prison to do my autographs; but I suppose the unconvicted followers of the same calling would raise the cry of 'Convict Labor.'" The vivacity and sprightliness of Mr. Joline's *Meditations* are reflected in his own words concerning them: "It is the privilege of age to be garrulous and unmethodical. One loses the capacity to be consecutive and orderly. When I was in Princeton I was taught to be precise and regular in the matter of composition, with my introduction, my proposition, my discussion, and my peroration. It is a blessed privilege now to be able to throw the introduction into the fire, dash the proposition out of the window, cast the discussion into the wastebasket, and toss the peroration after it. I scorn to be fettered by rhetorical regulations. There is not the slightest consecutiveness about these *Meditations*; that, to my mind, is their only justification." The author's free and easy method has made an entertaining book. This notice of an unconsecutive book may also take the liberty of being disorderly. Sir Walter Scott said that "a lawyer without history or literature is a mechanic, a mere working mason; if he possesses some knowledge of these he may venture to call himself an architect." Somebody said of Lord Brougham, "If he had only known a little law he would

have known a little of everything." General and Governor and Senator John A. Dix, scholar, soldier, and statesman, spent most of his life in public office. Of him Chauncey Depew once said, "He came to America in the *Mayflower*, and threatened to go over to the Indians if the Pilgrim Fathers would not elect him to an office." Governor Dix's translation of the sublime hymn *Dies Ira* is one of the best. A jovial aid-de-camp to Dix, being asked what the general was busy about, answered, "The general is writing a Cicero." Hawthorne is said to have written concerning George IV: "This king cared as much about dress as any young coxcomb. He had taste in such matters, and it is a pity he was a king, for he might otherwise have made an excellent tailor." Here is an oft-quoted saying of De Quincey's: "For if once a man indulges himself in murder, very soon he comes to think little of robbing, and from robbing he comes next to drinking and Sabbath-breaking, and from that to incivility and procrastination." Leslie Stephen calls De Quincey "one of the great masters of English in the department of impassioned prose." Our author says that Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, like Boswell's *Johnson*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and *Don Quixote*, belongs to the immortal library which all men are believed to know by heart, but which no one ever reads entirely through. It is here declared that the atrocious scandal fomented concerning Byron, and preserved by the folly of Harriet Beecher Stowe, was without any real foundation. Leslie Stephen calls it a "hideous story, absolutely incredible;" and Mr. Joline believes that if Lord and Lady Byron had been left to themselves, free from the interference which outsiders so often inflict, there would never have been any serious trouble. "The noble art of minding one's own business is not cultivated as generally as it should be. Byron was not a saint, but a little tact and wisdom might have preserved harmony between him and his wife." Of that much-recited and strenuous poem, "The Charge of the Light Brigade," Tennyson said, "It is not a poem on which I pride myself." Young Tennyson was nicknamed by his fellow-students, "Miss Alfred." When the good Prince Albert died Thackeray cruelly and somewhat vulgarly exclaimed, "Poor, dear gentlewoman." Our author thinks that Tennyson was rather caddish when he called Bulwer

The padded man—that wears the stays,
Who killed the girls and thrilled the boys
With dandy pathos;

and that the Laureate descended to billingsgate in this unpardonable verse:

What profits now to understand
The merits of a spotless shirt,
A dapper boot—a little hand—
If half the little soul is dirt?

On this the author comments: "I cannot resist the feeling that an affectation of clean linen and neat footgear has as much to commend

it as that of long cloaks, long beard, brutal brusqueness, and persistent chanting of one's own poems. Bulwer must have been a pleasanter man to meet than the flattered singer, the peer of the realm, the unmannerly autocrat, whose personal vanity was almost equal to that of General Winfield Scott, and I cannot compare it with anything more colossal. I yield to no one in my admiration for Lord Tennyson's poetry, but I refuse to concede him the right to be inexpressibly rude and offensive to his innocent fellow-beings." Charles Lamb wrote: "I never read books of travel, at least not farther than Paris or Rome. I can just endure Moors because of their connection as foes with Christians; but Abyssinians, Ethiops, Esquimaux, Dervishes, and all that tribe I hate. I am a Christian, Englishman, Londoner, Templar." Napoleon let all letters lie unopened for six weeks, in which time most of them had been answered by events; and S. J. Tilden, "that most modest, attractive, and unselfish of American politicians," is reported to have followed the same custom. Coleridge is said to have had an even simpler method, answering none and opening none. But the amiable Southey replied to letters often without a moment's delay. His kindly nature shows in his remark that a house is not perfectly furnished for enjoyment unless there is in it "a child rising three years old and a kitten rising six weeks." Dowden says that some of Southey's letters read "as if his whole business were that of secretary of feline affairs in Greta Hall." Referring to human gullibility, of which we have all heard much and furnished some, the author speaks of "poor M. Chasles, the foremost geometrician of France, who let Vrain-Lucas palm off on him as genuine a multitude of fabrications, including three letters from Cleopatra to Cato, one from Lazarus after his resurrection, and one from Judas Iscariot to Mary Magdalene—all on paper and in the best of French." That liberty-loving German soldier, Baron von Steuben, who turned the desolate winter camp at Valley Forge into "a military training school, teaching, what our troops had never known before, promptness and precision in the manual of arms, in mass and ordered movement, in the use of the bayonet, and mastery of the charge and of fighting in the open field," wrote home once to an old soldier-comrade in Prussia: "You say to your soldier, 'Do this,' and he doeth it. In America I am obliged to say to mine, 'This is the reason why you ought to do that,' and then he does it." The American is a man and not a machine. On one page of Mr. Joline's entertaining *Meditations* Edmund Gosse tells of his methods of literary work: "I must use both day and night. Official business for the government takes the central part of the day, so that my books have been mainly written between 8 and 11 p. m., and corrected between 9 and 10 a. m. I find the afternoon an almost useless time, the physical and mental clockwork of the twenty-four hours seeming to run down about 4 p. m. I make no written skeleton or first draft. My first draft is what goes to the printers, and commonly with few alterations. I round off my

sentences in my head before committing them to paper. I can work anywhere if I am not distracted. The waiting room of a railway station or a rock on the seashore suits me as well as the desk in my study. I cannot do literary or any other brain-work for more than three hours on a stretch. I believe that a man who works three hours of every working day will achieve a stupendous result in bulk. But, then, he must be rapid while he is at work, and not fritter away his resources on starts in vain directions." On this our author remarks, "This is rather funny, for many men of brains work continuously many more hours than three each day. Gosse's labors are mere dalliance compared with the brain-work of a host of men, statesmen, lawyers, journalists, and others, who work hard every day for three times three hours." Our readers have now a fair idea of the lively variety of these *Meditations of an Autograph Collector*.

The Psychological Elements of Religious Faith. By CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, D.D., LL.D., Late Bussey Professor of Theology in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 215. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

Here is the substance of the argument which Dr. Everett embodied in the introductory course of lectures by which he led his students to the longer course and main body of his instruction in which he dealt with the really great questions of religious belief, such as the being and attributes of God, human freedom, sin and salvation, immortality, and the organization of religion in human life. These introductory lectures deal with the elements of religion, the various definitions of religion, definitions of the supernatural, the place of intellect, and feeling in religion, and similar related topics. The most significant conclusion is that which gives the primacy to feeling as the most essential element in religion. "What is religion? It has been defined as identical with morality, but neither this definition nor the modification of it, 'morality touched by emotion,' satisfies us. If a man is indignant at some wrong does that make him religious? Is a man eager for justice necessarily a religious man? Religion has been defined also as man's effort to perfect himself, but a man may try to perfect himself without religion; and some religions do not aspire to perfection. Religion implies a relation between us and some Being beyond ourselves. . . . Where in life does religion find its seat? Religion is of the spirit. The elements of the spiritual nature are few. Intellect, feeling or emotion, and will—these are the elements of the inner life. Does religion belong primarily to the intellect, or to feeling, or to the will? . . . The first person to put theology upon a purely psychological basis, Schleiermacher, reached the result that feeling is everything in religion. Over against him, Hegel, while not denying the reality and need of feeling, yet gives it a subordinate place as compared with intellect. These men are the two Pillars of Hercules that mark the entrance through which one passes into modern theology. They supplement one another, each contributing a share of indispensable truth. We may note that feeling which has the

primacy in religion has the same primacy in life generally. Intellect brings to man his materials, feeling is his response to this material. Intellect is analytic, feeling is constructive. Intellect tries to explain and justify, yet never reaches that in which feeling rejoices. A picture may be all that the intellect can demand, and yet not excite feeling; the last touch and spell of genius cannot be described, though it may be felt. Intellect cannot explain why you love your friend. What you love is not the aggregate of his good qualities, which may belong equally to others whom you do not love. It must not be lost sight of, however, that feeling needs the intellect, not only to provide materials but to preserve a sane balance, and also to develop feeling. The working of the intellect stimulates the growth of feeling. A man's feelings are like an organ; the intellect is like the player whose touch brings out the music with manifold variations. Yet feeling has the primacy. What we do is done for the sake of feeling. In science and philosophy feeling is the beginning, the middle, and the end. The desire to know or to explore, the charm of mental activity, the hope of discovery, the desire for eminence—these in both science and philosophy stimulate the student. Feeling in one form or other first prompts to study and then sustains him in his work; and at the end of any study there is the feeling of joy in success and in an enlarged horizon." In another connection we find the following: "We often speak slightly of what is known as deathbed repentance, and assume that the murderer, for example, who dies on the scaffold expressing repentance for his crime is necessarily a hypocrite. Yet there is no reason why such repentance may not be real. The man is taken out of the temptations and all the usual relations to which he has been accustomed; he can see good and evil without bias; he can see clearly where he has done wrong. At such a time a man's nature is like the compass that has been lifted to the masthead, above any interference from surrounding influences. His better instincts are free from perverting attractions. Of course, if the compass is brought down to the deck again, it will vary as before; and if the man who has been at the point of death is allowed to live and comes back into the accustomed relations, old attractions and temptations may again influence him, but this does not argue his repentance insincere. Now, religion aims to make repentance and the abhorrence of sin permanent; it seeks to raise the man to a higher level of life where low influences shall have less power, and the higher instincts be free to control him." The definition of religion at which Dr. Everett arrives at the end of his reasonings is this: "Religion is a feeling toward a supernatural Presence manifesting itself in truth, goodness, and beauty." These lectures lack the literary charm which we found in the volume of the author's essays lately noticed in these pages. But literary grace and elegance are scarcely looked for in treatises on psychology, philosophy, or any scientific writings. The desiderata are lucidity and precision.

In God's Out-of-Doors. By WILLIAM A. QUAYLE. 8vo, pp. 232. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, ornamental, \$1.75.

The versatility of the author of *The Poets' Poet and Other Essays*, *A Hero and Some Other Folk*, *A Study in Current Social Theories*, and *The Blessed Life* presents us now with something entirely different. A Boston paper says that in these days of highly ornamented bindings it takes a bright book to live up to its cover. This one certainly does; it is sunlit, golden, and verdurous within as without. The publishers have done their work handsomely, so that with the numerous exquisite and fascinating photographic illustrations taken from God's out-of-doors we have here a sumptuous and extremely attractive volume. Of Nature books in these days there is a wide variety, but none before like this one. John Burroughs, James Lane Allen, Neltje Blanchan, Mrs. F. T. Parsons, Dallas Lore Sharp, Henry van Dyke, Maurice Thompson, Mabel Osgood Wright, Schuyler Matthews, Ernest Seton, Charles G. D. Roberts, William J. Long, Bishop Goodsell, and many others have enriched our literature with studies, descriptions, and appreciations of Nature's numerous folk and manifold phases, until it might be supposed that nothing new could be written. But each sensitive soul makes its own individual reaction to cosmic stimuli, and Dr. Quayle's revel in God's out-of-doors is certainly *sui generis*. We call it a revel, for such it surely is—an intellectually voluptuous revel of joyous abandon to the healthy, exhilarating delight that God's own child can find in this wondrous world which is one chamber of his Father's house. One's delight "When Spring Comes Home" is here, and one's feelings "When Autumn Fades," one's watching of "The Goings of the Winds" and "The Windings of the Stream," one's pleasure in "Winter Trees" and "Golden Rod," and the etchings "On Winter Panes," the pensive satisfaction in "I Go A-Fishing," the brisk and breezy exercise of "Walking to My Farm," and then "My Farm," which recalls John B. Gough's answer to an inquiring friend, "I raise quite a variety of products on my farm, but the principal crop is bills." Whittier said, "It is a good thing for a man to own a bit of ground, for he then feels sure of a foothold and has a title which extends as high as the sky." The courts in New Zealand long ago decided that much concerning a land-title. One who owns not a mere bit of ground, but a vast estate of eighty acres, must be regarded as a land-lord, even if he raises on it more sentiments than cents, more delight than dollars. *In God's Out-of-Doors* exhibits a luxuriance like that of the June-world, splendid with the florid bloom of exuberant vitality; there is in these pages the merry heart which doeth good like a medicine; there are bubbling springs of irrepressible youthfulness of spirit; there is the charming waywardness of a bloomy fancy like wild clematis foaming over rocks and fences; there is something like Emily Dickinson's dandelion, which "first uplifts a pallid stem and then a shouting flower;" there is a robust healthiness as ruddy as the face of a man who rides an eager horse twenty miles against a

boisterous and buffeting wind; and there is in every page the ardent, unaffected lover of God's out-of-doors, who, as he tells us, wishes by this book to fill other hearts like his own "with love of flower and woodland path and drifting cloud, and dimming light and moonlit distance, and starlight, and voices of bird and wind, and cadence of the rainfall and the storm, and to make men and women more the lovers of this bewildering world, fashioned in loveliness by the artist hand of God, and to bring them into that fellowship and love with God which is the poesy and eloquence of life." We have read an essay entitled "Preacher and Poet;" the two are sometimes one, as in the volume before us. Our readers remember that in our January number of last year they took "A Walk Along a Railway in June" with Dr. Quayle, the title and time of which must have recalled to some one Sidney Lanier's exquisite verses, "June Dreams, in January." Only by a mental freak inexplicable by any law of association, and only in a mind as flighty and inconsequent as a flying squirrel, could anything in the volume before us cause a reader to recall the words of Spartacus to the gladiators, "To-morrow some Roman Adonis will pat your red brawn and bet his sesterces upon your blood;" for Adonis is nowhere in this book, though, if he were, he might perhaps find brawn to pat and blood to bet on. Possibly, after all, a mental transit from *In God's Out-of-Doors* to the gladiators is not much more mysterious and recondite than the analogical connection in Thoreau's words, "I love the Greek language; it sounds so much like the ocean." And, by the way, all our American Nature writers probably derive in some degree from Thoreau, in whom a college course did not destroy his rare fineness of sense, his super-sensitive and tender heart toward all forms of life, or his primal delight in rank wild nature. He went from Cambridge to the woods and took his postgraduate course in the University of Out-of-Doors, as all anæmic and emaciated students might, for a time at least, profitably do. If this book notice had turned into a revel as blithely lawless as Bliss Carman's *Songs from Vagabondia*, it might plead in extenuation that it had become exhilarated with the oxygen and intoxicated with the exuberance which brim and sparkle in the book *In God's Out-of-Doors*, the author of which is the willing thrall of Nature's loveliness, rejoicing in the splendor of the handiwork of Him "who makes the morning the herald of His glory and lifts along the glowing West the standards of the sunset."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Holy Land. Described by JOHN KELMAN, M.A. Painted by JOHN FULLEY-LOVE, R.I. 8vo, pp. 230. London: Adam & Charles Black. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, ornamental, \$6.

In this superbly illustrated book Mr. Kelman does not attempt to add anything to the scientific knowledge of Palestine, yet this is not a mere itinerary or journal of experiences and adventures of the

road. The main object has been to give a record not so much of incidents as of impressions bearing upon the geography, the history, and the spirit of Syria. Two other books are referred to as of especial practical helpfulness, Colonel Conder's *Tent Work in Palestine* and George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. Mr. Fulleylove's water color paintings, of which nearly a hundred are here handsomely reproduced, make a rich and brilliant volume. They are worthy of a place along with the most striking paintings in the same Palestinian field by the great artists Verestschagin and Tissot, whom in fact Mr. Fulleylove's conceptions and execution distinctly recall. These pictures of famous places and sketches by the wayside are all admirable in sentiment and composition, reflecting most beautifully the light and color and spirit of Syria. The wretched moral and physical condition of the inhabitants of Palestine under the curse and blight of the rule of the "unspeakable Turk" is impressively portrayed by Mr. Kelman. The Christian traveler in Syria is oppressed by a sense of its desertion. "We'll leave our bones in this God-forsaken country if we do not get out of it quickly," said one tourist, sickened and appalled at the conditions around him. The land was doomed when it drove out Christ. "They besought Him that He would depart out of their coasts, and He entered into a ship, and passed over and came unto His own city." Yet He will come again. His enemies still keep in its place the venerable record which predicts it. The great mosque in Damascus was built upon the ruins of an ancient Christian church. But the original walls were not entirely demolished, and among the parts built into the new Mohammedan structure was a beautiful gate on whose lintel may still be seen inscribed in Greek, "Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy dominion endureth throughout all generations." Mr. Kelman writes: "To see this inscription we climbed a ladder in the Jewelers' Bazaar. At the height of some fifteen feet we stepped upon a ledge of rather precarious masonry, and after a short scramble along this came to the lintel, half concealed by a rubble wall running diagonally across it. A stranger was with us, a devout Christian from a town far south of Damascus. In the whole city nothing moved him so deeply as this stone, and he exclaimed, 'It was the Christians' fault—they were so rough, so rude, so ignorant—it was lost to them by the will of God—but *He will have it again*.' And *He will* have it again, sooner or later. As Shelley wrote, 'The moon of Mahomet arose and it shall set.' When Omar heard that Mohammed was dead he would not believe it, but proclaimed in the mosque at Medina, 'The Prophet has only swooned away.' Nevertheless Mohammed was dead, and his dead hand has held the land in slime and putrefaction for thirteen centuries. But Christ, having risen from the dead, dieth no more, and the future of the land belongs to Him. To the Western world He has fulfilled His tremendous claim, 'I am the resurrection and the life,' not only in the assurance of immortality, but in the

spring and impulse which His faith has given to noble ideals of individual and national life. And Christian hope expects the same fulfillment for the land where the promise was first spoken. The signs of such fulfillment are in the Christian missions scattered over Syria, from Zahleh, where Gerald Dale labored and died, and Beyrout and Damascus on the north, to Hebron on the south. And outside of, and far from, the missions a secret and incalculable leaven of Christianity spreads undetected, so that, as a Moslem said of India, a great many Christians will rise out of supposedly Mohammedan graves in the last great day. One's impression of the misery of the land deepens as travel is extended. Sores, exposed and flyblown, sicken one by many a wayside and on many a city street. The dirt and stench of the houses make the heat and sunshine terrible. You are oppressed with your sense of a sick land around you. Suddenly you emerge in a mission station, and a feeling of immense relief takes possession of you. There, at last, is a sound of health and joy; these are spots of brightness in a gray, grim landscape, little centers of life in a land where much is morbid and diseased. It is in Palestine as elsewhere—no one can see the mission work without a new enthusiasm for missions. At home one believes in them as a part of Christian duty and custom. On the spot one thanks God for them as almost unearthly revelations of 'sweetness and cleanness, abundance, power to bless, and Christian love in that loveless land.' In the desecrated Holy Land, as in all unhappy countries, missions are fighting disease and death and ignorance and sin in Christ's name, and the Far East is learning that now as aforetime Jesus is the Healer of men."

Christian Missions and Social Progress. By Rev. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D., Author of *Foreign Missions After a Century*; Member of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Syria. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 468, 486. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$2.50 per volume.

Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions. A Statistical Supplement to *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, being a Conspectus of the Achievements and Results of Evangelical Missions in All Lands at the Close of the Nineteenth Century. By Rev. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D., Chairman of Committee on Statistics, Ecumenical Conference of Foreign Missions, New York, 1900. Crown 8vo, pp. 401. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$4.

One is first of all amazed at the courage which dared undertake so huge a task, and the prodigious industry which has completed this orderly and comprehensive survey of the manifold results of modern missions. Next we wonder at the encyclopedic knowledge of the vast world-field possessed by the author; such knowledge as only a lifetime of concentrated and consecrated study could acquire. In these three superb volumes a man who Knows "draws the Thing as he sees It for the God of Things as They Are," and for all men who care to learn Facts. Last of all, we are impressed with the overwhelming proof here furnished of the mighty power of the Christian Gospel to transform and save all peoples. Never before have the enterprises of Christian missions, their methods, their

heroes, their victories, the steadiness of their progress, and the grounds of confident hope, been presented in such colossal and imposing unity. All criticisms of foreign missions and missionaries are swept away before this flood of facts—this tremendous story of achievements. The student of these great volumes hears sounding through their ordered alcoves of piled-up evidence "a strain of melody which is the prelude to that song of triumph which the redeemed of all nations shall sing." In these figures and statistics one hears the tramp of armies on the march in the most beneficent, beautiful, and mighty world-movement known to human history. This survey of all mission work is also an education in denominational fraternity, for nowhere is unity of spirit and action forced upon Christians as in missionary fields. Numerous photographic illustrations show scenes and fruits of mission work. Nothing seems lacking to make this a complete Thesaurus of facts and data concerning missions. Its picture of the world as it is shows the ethnic faiths to be decadent and morally gangrened, and calls loudly upon the disciples of the one Universal Religion to give the Gospel to the darkened, degraded, and suffering races of mankind. Dr. Dennis gives us not a mere compilation of statistics, but much rich material in lectures which argue and illumine every question that is related to or affected by the work of missions. It would be interesting to quote. All Hindu sects are agreed on this one doctrine: "We believe in the sanctity of the cow and in the depravity of woman." In some parts of Africa "five blue beads will buy a woman, but it takes ten to buy a cow." Rudyard Kipling has written that the secret of the degradation of India lies in the unnatural and cruel treatment of women: "The very foundations of life are rotten, utterly rotten, and beastly rotten. The men talk of their rights. I have seen the women that bear these very men, and—may God forgive the men!" But they most certainly do not deserve forgiveness. The large oblong volume, the *Centennial Survey* serves as a supplement to the two previous volumes on *Christian Missions and Social Progress*. It contains complete tables in which the statistics of missions are arranged under headings entitled Evangelistic, Educational, Literary, Medical, Philanthropic and Reformatory, Cultural; and treat of Missionary Training Institutions and Organizations, both home and foreign, and of Mission Steamers and Ships, all of which is followed by a complete Directory of Foreign Missionary Societies. From the Final Summaries representing Net Statistical Totals for the world we glean the following: There are in the world 558 foreign missionary societies, with an annual income of \$19,598,823; there are 6,027 ordained missionaries, 711 physicians (489 men and 222 women), 3,478 lay missionaries and men physicians, 4,262 married women not physicians, 3,496 unmarried women not physicians, making a total of 18,164 foreign missionaries; 4,076 ordained natives and 73,057 unordained natives—preachers, teachers, Bible women and other helpers, making a total of 78,350 native workers. The most cursory reader

of these great books must be impressed with the dynamic power and momentum of the kingdom of God as now in action throughout the world. From Dr. Geikie we quote this: "The provisions indicated in the New Testament are ample, whether these be natural, providential, or supernatural. We are assured that there is to be a restoration of all things, and this magnificent result is to grow out of energies, active or latent, now existing in the Christian Church. The commanded business of the Church is the conversion of the world; and God does not demand from unit or corporation what it is unqualified to perform." And from Dr. R. S. Storrs is the following: "Men say sometimes, with Pilate of old, 'What is Truth?' That was not a serious question, of course; it was only the sarcasm of pro-consular arrogance. Truth—it is a dream of the mind, he implies; it is a breath in the air; truth has no power; one rush of the Roman legionaries and it vanishes forever. Ah, but that truth at which Pilate sneered took the mighty empire of which he was a subordinate official, and crushed it at last as the mailed hand of a giant might crush an eggshell. Pilate was mistaken. And men of the world are mistaken now, when they say that the Gospel is an ineffective force, something for women and children, something for sick people, perhaps, but which for the prosperous and powerful is nothing but breath. The Gospel of Christ is invisible but dynamic. See how it operates on individuals and communities wherever it goes. It touches evils, cruelties, vices, despotisms, to loosen and dissolve them; just as the ice bank in springtime does not require to be broken up by drill and dynamite, but melts into drops and ripples, into rills before the kiss of sunshine in the warmer air. That is the way in which the Gospel produces its sublime effects wherever it is preached and established among men. God means the future of this world to be molded and glorified by the Gospel of Christ, by the invisible power of which the nations are to be redeemed and elevated. And all we are to do our utmost to promote this ever-advancing plan of God in the world." The weighty worth of these three great volumes must be to Dr. Dennis a sufficient reward for his enormous labor; and every purchaser of them will feel that they more than repay their cost.

European Days and Ways. By JAMES F. RUSLING, A.M., LL.D., Brigadier General (by Brevet) United States Volunteers, Author of *Across America*, *Men and Things I Saw in Civil War Days*, etc. Crown 8vo, pp. 420. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, ornamental, \$1.50.

Those who read that vivid, realistic, and stirring book, *Men and Things I Saw in Civil War Days*, do not need to be told that this new volume from General Rusling's pen is the work of a master of eyewitness description. Few men have written who had a finer gift for making the reader see, as if with his own eyes, what the author sees. Something in it suggests the lawyer; the blending of fluency and exactness in its style may be the result of long practice at the bar. General Rusling's book makes us see how Europe looks to-day

to a practiced observer who travels with open eyes and keen intellect through Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Holland, France, England, and Scotland. It is a common-sense account of a tour which is easy for anyone to take. For those who plan to take the trip this book is informing and preparatory; while for those who must stay at home it is with its pictures and matter-of-fact narration of experiences an entertaining substitute for the journey. Where all is good it is difficult to say which is best, but the chapters on Rome, Venice, Nuremberg, Brussels, Paris, London, and England are conspicuously interesting. But the most remarkable chapter in the book is that on "Waterloo." It indicates intimate familiarity with Waterloo literature, including the official reports on both sides of that desperate and decisive conflict. It is such an account of the battle of Waterloo as only a soldier, a general, with full military knowledge, studying on the spot the progress of the fight, could possibly write. To a civilian's judgment it seems an extraordinary achievement—altogether the most intelligible, vivid, and illuminating explanation and description of that tremendous struggle in which the defeat of Napoleon and the victory of Wellington decided the fate of Europe. Anybody who reads these twenty-five pages will understand Waterloo. General Rusling enters on his description thus: "In many respects Waterloo is indeed an ideal battlefield, and not unlike our own Gettysburg. It is easy to see why Wellington won, when one rides over the battlefield. I never understood it before going there. Let me see if I can now make it plain to others. . . . Here on the crest or ridge of a long swell Wellington posted the English army. Opposite, a mile or so away, on a much lower swell, Napoleon posted the French army. This was not unlike Meade and Lee at Gettysburg, on Cemetery Ridge and Seminary Ridge, respectively. Between was a considerable interval, and, as Napoleon attacked, the French had first to march down and across, and then charge up, much as Lee had to do; and Wellington had only to stand still and hold fast, as Meade did, with Mount St. Jean and La Hougomont to help him, as Meade had Kulp's Hill and Little Round Top to help him." Throughout his description General Rusling notes the various points of similarity between Gettysburg and Waterloo. He points out Napoleon's mistakes, and evidently thinks Meade made a stupendous mistake, on the last day of the Gettysburg fight, in not charging with all his army upon the defeated and retreating Confederates, sweeping all before him, and making a merciful end of the war then and there. If Grant had been in command at Gettysburg that is what would have happened. Lee's army would not have been allowed to get away. Appomattox would have happened at Gettysburg. The publishers have done handsome justice to General Rusling's energetic and engaging story of travel, and a full index makes the inwards of the book easily accessible. Of making many books of travel there is no end; the impulse seizes multitudes of tourists; but the contents of this one justify its existence.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Man from Glengarry. By RALPH CONNOR. 12mo, pp. 473. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Glengarry School Days. Same author and publishers. 12mo, pp. 340. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

The first of these two books has sold one hundred and fifteen thousand copies, and fifty thousand of the second were ordered before it was off the press. Such is the phenomenal and persistent popularity of the author of *Sky Pilot* and *Black Rock*; and such the public's "Oliver Twist appetite." All the books which have made Charles W. Gordon famous are virile, wholesome, full of the freshness and ruddy vigor of out-of-doors, astir and eventful with the swift rush of incident, full of strong characters, morally bracing, and noble to the top of possibility. They burn and throb with healthy excitement. For man or woman, boy or girl, they have an irresistible spell. For city boys or country boys *Glengarry School Days* is a great book, and no less attractive to older people. All four of Ralph Connor's stories are as full of fight, physical or spiritual, as Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, and as fascinating to battle instincts as the *Pirate's Own Book*; while at the same time they are as religious in effect as a revival meeting. The core of the author's creed seems to be that the soul is saved by fighting the devil, and every chapter rings with the clash of moral conflict. It is a spiritual prize fight, muscular, sinewy, gritty, sometimes grim and bloody. Then there is the exultant joy of moral triumph, and all along these stories are suffused with the sweet and the tender in a way to fill the eyes and choke the throat. No wonder that when the publishers announce a new book by Ralph Connor they are flooded with advance orders by the next mail.

The Illustrative Lesson Notes. By Rev. THOMAS B. NEELY, D.D., LL.D., and ROBERT R. DOHERTY, Ph.D. Pp. 400. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. Price, \$1.25.

The unusual excellence of this annual for 1903 attests the care and labor of the authors in its preparation. Since lesson helps are needed by all workers in the Sunday school field it is difficult to imagine how a more useful requisite than this could be produced or desired. The notes, presenting in condensed form the salient thoughts of the best commentators on the sacred text, constitute a library in themselves, while the maps and illustrations with which the book abounds render the student thoroughly familiar with the geography and topography of the Holy Land. A new and valuable feature of the volume for 1903 is the insertion of the American Revision for the parallel lesson text. The ripest scholarship of the age is reflected in this revision of the text, and the use made of it in the parallel passages cannot but win for the authors the grateful appreciation of Bible students.

